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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2119

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GENERAL SHTILYANOV DWELLS ON ALLEGIANCE TO INTERNATIONALISM

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 27 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Maj Gen Ivan Shtilyanov, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army: "The Bulgarian Soldiers Are Loyal to Their Patriotic and International Duties"]

[Text] International duty is inseparably linked to one of the basic principles of the international communist and worker movements--proletarian internationalism. This principle was formulated by K. Marx and F. Engels as the origins of that movement. They pointed out that the common class interest of the proletariat the world over and the existence of a strong enemy whom they must fight--international capital--demand the closest possible unification among the revolutionary detachments throughout the world.

In our time, socialist internationalism appeared and developed as a new and higher degree of solidarity, as a manifestation of the common interests of the working class and the peoples in the socialist comity. At the same time, the need arose for the collective defense of the global socialist system from aggressive imperialist sallies.

Lenin provided a clear and specific answer to the question of what internationalism in action means: doing for the victory of the revolution in other countries that which one does for the revolution in one's own. The reason is that even the most vividly expressed international solidarity loses its force and significance unless it is accompanied and supported by timely international aid. This permanent readiness for immediate action demands a deep awareness of class international duty.

At the stage of building mature socialism, the comprehensive integration among socialist countries becomes an objective law. It is based on their common economic and political interests and creates a need for collective defense and steady intensification of friendship, cooperation and fraternal mutual aid in the economic, scientific and technical, political, cultural and military areas. Understanding the interconnection between socialist military power and the open struggle for peace is an important feature in the patriotic and internationalist thinking of military servicemen. It leads to the conviction that the power which can force the enemy to seek peace may be secured only by steadily strengthening the combat alliance among the members of the socialist comity and the combination of their military potentials. In this sense, the loyalty of

the Bulgarian People's Army personnel to their international duty is manifested above all in their boundless loyalty to the cause of socialism and communism and their readiness to defend to death the sacred borders and the freedom of their homeland and of the members of the socialist comity.

The fact that the internationalist upbringing of our troops does not start from a vacuum is of particular importance. It has sunk profound historical roots and is the natural extension of the legitimate patriotism and respect for peoples fraternal to us, transmitted across the generations from fathers to sons and from grandfathers to grandsons. The feeling of international duty in the Bulgarian people may be traced to antiquity, subsequently developing as the loftiest revolutionary virtue expressed in Levski's readiness to dedicate all his forces to the liberation of other enslaved peoples following that of Bulgaria. Botev considered this feeling a "symbol of the beliefs of the Bulgarian commune," as the emotional peak of a revolutionary, while Georgi Dimitrov gave them a worldwide scale in his titanic battle against fascism at the Leipzig trial.

In the Bulgarian people, the feeling of international duty has its quantitative dimensions as well, as recorded by history. During the Great October Socialist Revolution and the civil war, more than 10,000 Bulgarians fought side by side with Lenin's Bolsheviks against the interventionists. During the Spanish Civil War some 460 Bulgarians fought on the side of the republican army, side by side with volunteers of 54 different nationalities. The young Bulgarian People's Army (numbering about 450,000 people) actively participated in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the famous Red Army. It helped the peoples of Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria to free themselves from fascist slavery. In 1968 the Bulgarian forces responded to the call of the fraternal Czechoslovak people and helped them in their struggle against the arising counterrevolution.

In his 1979 National Assembly speech, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: "Our loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism and readiness to support peoples fighting for freedom and social justice are known and clear."

If we were to look for other examples with which to emphasize the strong class foundation of our internationalism and to stress our superiority over the widely publicized "Atlantic solidarity," promoted with fanatical persistence within the NATO armies, suffice it to point out above all the spontaneous comprehensive and sincere hospitality and inexhaustible friendliness expressed by the entire Bulgarian people during the joint "Shield-82" exercises toward the forces of the fraternal peoples. Troops and commanders of units which came to our country for the exercise were surrounded by joy, concern and attention. Spontaneous meetings were held at railroad stations, airfields and ports. According to the old Slavic custom, the guests were welcomed with bread, salt and wine, with fruits and flowers, with songs and dances.

It was no accident that the press, radio, television and news agencies of some Western countries tried to disinform public opinion in malicious pharisaic terms by stating that the warm welcome, spontaneous meetings and encounters between the population and the troops of the fraternal armies had been

"directed in advance by the communists." It was clear that some interested circles were not pleased by such an openly displayed friendliness and true brothership in arms, for which reason they hastened to lie to their own peoples.

Reality proved that the joint exercises of the Warsaw Pact armies code named "Khemus," "Rodopi," "Shield-72," "Shield-76," "Suyuz-7," "Shield-79," "Brotherhood in Arms-80," "Suyuz-81" "Shield-82," and others, have left deep marks in the minds of the troops and increased their feeling of international duty, convincingly confirming the tremendous role and contribution of Soviet combat experience in the steady enhancement of the combat capability and readiness of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces. "Shield-82" strengthened the fraternity and unity among the troops even further.

The numerous meetings for the exchange of experience among front-rankers in combat and political training, reciprocal visits and exciting concerts given by music-art groups of the fraternal armies in all field camps and dozens of cities and villages, the joint international brigades in aid to the farm workers, collective visits of industrial projects and historical monuments and hundreds of other initiatives contributed to the even greater unification of the soldiers in the units which participated in the exercise.

Raised and led by the great Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian troops remain inflexibly loyal to their class international duty and are always ready, shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the fraternal armies, headed by the invincible Soviet army, to rout any aggressor who would dare to violate the sacred and inviolable borders of the members of the world socialist comity.

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REVIEW OF AIR COMBAT TACTICS: WEAKNESSES OF AMERICAN PLANES OUTLINED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PLEGLED in Bulgarian No 12, 1982 pp 103-107

[Article by Maj Stefan Popov: "On Fighter Aircraft Air Combat"]

[Text] Air combat is characterized by high dynamism, aggressiveness and firmness in reaching the final objective, which is the destruction of the enemy. This armed struggle is joined by highly skilled military personnel, officers with rich theoretical and practical training, controlling complex combat ordnance which represents the latest scientific achievements.

Aggressiveness is a characteristic feature of air combat. It is embedded in the very purpose of the fighter airplane. It controls the characteristics of the airplane in air combat. The fighter plane does not have a weapon firing backward. It has a headlong forward lurch, combined with powerful fire. Passive defense has always led to defeat. Decisiveness in defeating the enemy is determined also by the fact that it is impossible to force the enemy to surrender or to be captured. No one has ever raised a white flag in air combat.

"In air combat tactics plays the main role. The winner is he who is able to understand the enemy's intentions first, who knows the possibilities of his airplane and its armament. Depending on the circumstances, he must develop his maneuver in such a way as to find himself in the best possible position. All of this does not happen at once but can be achieved through persistent seeking and analyzing past combat, whether personal or that of comrades in arms," wrote A. Ivanov, honored military flier of the USSR, in his book "Skorost' Manevr Ogon'" [Speed of Fire Maneuver].

The rich experience of the Soviet fliers in the Great Patriotic War, the local wars in Indochina and the Middle East and research done in our country and, above all, by the USSR air force, and personal meetings with forces of the invincible Soviet army are inexhaustible sources for the study of the tactics of fighter aviation and their improvement.

The flier who, basing his actions on the comparison between the practical-technical and maneuvering characteristics of his airplane and that of the enemy can make use of the most efficient and most required maneuver under the specific circumstances, ending with precise fire at the target airplane, can hope for success in aerial combat. This calls for the continuing and profound study of the enemy with a view to determining his strong and weak sides.



A comparison between the combat possibilities of airplanes based exclusively on data contained in manuals and the open press is extremely insufficient. Data on maximal speed, altitude, flight weight and armaments, which account for the bulk of the information provided by such sources, cannot lead to a conclusion as to which model has better speed and maneuvering characteristics. In order to have general indications on aerial combat a comparison is necessary between the altitude-speed and maneuverability characteristics of the airplane. Such a comparison will enable us to determine the advantages and shortcomings of one's own airplane compared with that of the enemy and to draw conclusions as to the type of maneuvering which would be expedient to use in aerial combat within certain ranges of altitude and speed.

The theoretical training given the flight personnel is adequate in terms of developing such comparative characteristics, providing that sufficiently specific information on the enemy aircraft is available and methodical aids have been provided.

It is universally known that practical experience has always been the most accurate criterion of troops. The aerial combats over Vietnam and in the Middle East revealed essential weaknesses in the noisily advertised enemy aviation equipment. The advertised practical and technical data of the aircraft were not supported in real combat. Particularly indicative was the success of the Vietnamese pilots who, although facing the great superiority of forces of the American air force, and despite insufficient experience in training, but with great desire and dedication, achieved significant superiority in their favor in terms of airplanes brought down in aerial combat.

Thus, for example, combat practice proved that the noisily advertised Phantom F-4 suffers from a number of major faults, such as:

The high flight weight and, above all, the heavy loading of the wing have strongly worsened the maneuvering characteristics of the airplane. The plane is clumsy, hard to maneuver, piloting at high attack angles is greatly hindered and the airplane easily falls in a "tailspin" which has led the pilots to avoid and be unwilling to fly it at maximal capacity. Avoiding combat at minimal speed means, in the final account, the nonutilization of the combat possibilities of the airplane which had been previously relied upon;

The cockpit which is low in the body of the aircraft in order to protect the pilot better has greatly reduced the flier's range of visibility. He is virtually unable to survey the western hemisphere of the air space, which is a constant threat of an unexpected attack from the rear;

The existing view to the effect that because of its powerful missile armaments the F-4 can carry out its assignments was defeated. Aerial combat proved that the effectiveness of the plane's missiles was far below expectations, which required the urgent further development and installation of the Vulcan M-61 gun;

The maximum bomb load (6,800 kilograms) was not used a single time. The airplanes flew with no more than 4,500 kilograms of bombs in combat sorties, in

the course of which their maneuverability was greatly limited (a turn with an angle not exceeding 30 degrees);

Over the Middle East the F-4 could be clearly traced by its long vapor trail, particularly when its engines worked on an accelerated regime, which made it possible for pilots to detect it visually at high distances and to perform the proper maneuvers on time.

This example indicates that we must make a close study of the enemy without underestimating him but by maintaining a critical attitude regarding the information he supplies. Advertising data, the purpose of which is commercial and psychological above all, should be properly read and the development of a conviction that the enemy is unbeatable and has a quality superiority should not be allowed.

The tactics of fighter aircraft has been inseparably related to the development and advancement of aviation equipment. The appearance of new aviation equipment has been accompanied by changes in aerial combat methods or the enrichment and advancement of existing ones through the addition of new elements and tactical methods consistent with the possibilities of the airplanes and their equipment and armaments.

In turn, the tactics and conditions of combat operations directly influence the development of aviation technology. Design bureaus are issued assignments on developing new aircraft with combat possibilities consistent with trends in tactical developments.

Attempts to fly a new model aircraft on the basis of old tactical knowledge have always failed.

The use of groups for various tactical purposes and their deployment in height was extensively used in the combat operations of Soviet fighter planes in the Patriotic War. The battle order of the squadron included a strike group, a cover group and, in infrequent cases, a free maneuvering group. The strike group included forces which could determine the outcome of the battle. As many as 30 percent of the participating aircraft were used for cover purposes. The combat started with approaching the enemy in such a way that the strike group will be flying at a greater height than the main enemy group and, converting height into speed, enjoying an advantage in the attack.

The advancement of aviation equipment and, above all, the considerable increase in the armament weight of the airplanes, board instruments and rockets brought about changes in the deployment of the group in altitude.

In the Middle East, as in the past, combined groups serving a variety of tactical purposes were used, deployed in height. However, the deployment of forces in height varied. A demonstration group, consisting of lighter and more maneuverable fighter planes, armed with close combat missiles, would fly in the enemy's radar visibility area at medium altitude. The main purpose of this group was to draw the attention of ground command posts and enemy fighter planes and to create conditions for the strike group to deal a sudden and

decisive strike at enemy fighter planes. The strike group, which consisted of heavier fighter planes, equipped with medium-range missiles (standard directional radar), flew at low and extremely low altitudes outside the enemy's radar range and, on the order of ground command posts, dealt successful sudden diving strikes.

Most of the successful attacks from below have been conducted in a straight line. This is determined by the need to maintain the target in the radar zone until the missile has hit the target.

The study of changes in the tactics of fighter planes and new tactical means is necessary. However, their practical development in the course of combat training is even more necessary. This test of tactical maturity, and combat skill of the flight personnel and the ability of commanders and the staff to control the combat actions of the subunit was carried out in the course of a squadron flight-tactical exercise. Under complex practical circumstances, maximally closer to the requirements of contemporary combat, the squadron was issued the assignment to secure combat operations of fighter-bombers. The purpose was the practical development of combat operation needs which so far had been studied only theoretically, making a quick assessment of changing aerial circumstances and making proper and prompt decisions.

Together with the party and Komsomol organizations, the command was able to mobilize the personnel for an adequate performance of the exercise. The fliers began their immediate preparatory training with systems, computations and a plan developed in advance for aerial combat in several variants. The battle dynamics were played out in the course of short meetings of wings. Problems of interaction and control in the air were refined. The tasks of the crews were formulated specifically and precisely and safety measures were studied in detail.

Following the route to the target the "patrol" support group successfully repelled the attacks of "enemy" fighters. After leading the group of fighter-bombers over the target, the fighter planes assumed guard areas in the area from which the arrival of the "enemy" was expected. Thanks to the high skill of the fliers the "enemy" was prevented from reaching the protecting group.

A profound study of objective control facilities indicated the increased combat skill of the flight personnel, the excellent mastery of flight equipment and the technical maturity of the fliers.

Officers Georgiev, Semkov, Todorov and others proved their maturity in the course of the exercise.

The tempestuous development of aviation equipment has always been paralleled by the enrichment of the principles governing aerial combat and tactical means and maneuvers.

The appearance of jet aircraft and its further improvements greatly increased the speed of the airplanes and their altitude range. Single and group aerial combats with supersonic fighters were waged in the local wars. The increased

speed considerably expanded the scope of aerial combat in space. The need for active efforts to detect the enemy visually or with the help of radar appeared.

In order to assist the situation and make a proper decision, adequate information is required. The obligation to assess the situation was transferred to the ground control centers equipped with long-range radar. The role of the control centers in leading the fighters in combat and their direct control increased. Stricter requirements faced the tactical training of directing officers in the control centers.

Air command posts appeared ensuring the more reliable control of fighter planes and the detection of targets against the earth's background.

Changes in aircraft armaments brought about changes in the combat ranks of fighter planes. The strike group can carry out its assignments with a lesser number of planes. The powerful and more accurate weapons increased the combat possibilities of the individual airplane.

The increased weight of armament of the airplanes made it possible quickly to reach the necessary level of energy needed for committing them to battle by attacking the enemy from below.

All of these changes, however, did not lead to substantial changes in aerial combat tactics. The limited area of possible attacks remained located behind the tail of the enemy aircraft maneuvering over a greater aerial space. In order to use its armaments, the fighter plane must maneuver in such a way as to find itself at a short distance behind the target.

Complex armaments are consistent with the concept of "distant" and "close" battle. The American F-15 and F-16 airplanes also carry medium and low-range missiles (AIM-7FS Sparrow, with radar, a semiactive guidance system of the AIM-9 Sidewinder, with a heat directional system).

The area of possible attacks remained perimetric. The concepts of "close maneuver combat" and "distant missile combat" appeared. Let us immediately note that these are not two different types of combat but stages in the overall process of the struggle against the air enemy, for after the long distance fire (usually from the front hemisphere) and the visual detection of the air enemy, the battle goes on, developing into a "close maneuvering aerial combat."

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## BULGARIA

### SOFIA PAPER DWELLS ON UNSATISFACTORY TRAINING OF WAR PILOTS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 31 Dec 82 p 1

[Editorial: "For Flight Safety"]

[Text] One of the most important prerequisites for successfully fulfilling the plans for combat and political training in aviation units is ensuring flight safety. Modern aircraft and helicopters have high tactical-technical characteristics and combat qualities, which enables them efficiently to resolve even the most difficult problems under a variety of weather conditions, day or night. This was confirmed at the "Shield-82" joint exercise conducted by the fraternal armies and in the course of many other flight-tactical exercises and combat fire practice last school year.

At the same time, however, some prerequisites for flight accidents were allowed to occur, based on the insufficient training of some fliers or inadequate preparations of the flying equipment, violations of flight procedures and rules and unsatisfactory flight control. Thus, for example, some time ago, Capt Engineer Tsv. Tsekov as leader, and Lt Engineer V. Penchev as his subordinate, glided at an excessive speed and landed at a considerable distance beyond the landing mark. In using his brakes, Lt Penchev sliced the right tire of the landing gear and stopped on the grass to the right of the strip. There were no adverse consequences for the crew but such errors have also had worse outcomes. Initially nothing special may be found in the action of an experienced first class pilot, who flew at a low altitude over the airfield without the permission of the flight controller. Actually, however, this represents a lack of discipline on the part of the flier who, only a few minutes previously had excellently performed a bombing exercise.

No such fact should be left without the comprehensive determination of the circumstances which created it, for neglecting this rule adversely affects all flights. It is no secret that some air force commanders do not struggle adamantly enough for maximal objectivity in assessing each individual flight and analyzing all circumstances and patterns which have led to one misfortune or another in the combat collective under their command. There also are officers who consider errors in flight techniques and omissions in servicing the complex aviation equipment and in the organization of flight crews just about inevitable.

In the struggle for flight safety it is particularly important to develop an atmosphere of intolerance of any type of carelessness in flying and using of the aircraft, shortcomings in the control system, and cases of subjective assessment of the quality of flight assignment performances. Commanders, staffs and party organizations must work purposefully to upgrade the combat training of the troops and to develop in them a professional approach to the solution of problems.

As a rule, the profession of flier excludes irresponsibility, carelessness and a nonserious attitude toward flight regulations and neglect of the technical possibilities and characteristics of the aircraft. Despite all this, however, there still are fliers and crews which, although properly familiar with the consequences of violations of regulations, show tolerance and insufficient exigency in their work. In addition to the cases we already noted, one of the information bulletins of a senior aviation staff named Officers Stoyanov, Vutov, Kolaksuzov, Filipov and other pilots who, as a result of overestimating their own possibilities, inadequate concentration or poor training, created prerequisites for adversely completing their flights.

The aviation commander plays the main role in the comprehensive activities related to ensuring flight safety. He must set the example in the strict and precise observance of the requirements of military regulations and flight documents. He must earn the respect of his subordinates through his high professionalism. It is inadmissible for a senior commander himself to violate flight regulations.

Autumn is the season of intensive flights and exercises. Under the circumstances of very variable weather, commanders, staffs and chiefs of services must control more strictly the ground training of the flight personnel and persistently to upgrade its methodical standards. It is important to use with maximal results the proper equipment for upgrading the training of the crews and conserving materials, equipment and fuel. A decisive end must be put to efforts to simplify and to subjective assessments of the training of pilots, navigators and other officials participating in flights or flight control. Particular attention in training should be paid to the way the fliers master the necessary actions in special flight cases.

In order to implement the strict requirements of the 12th party congress and the orders of the minister of national defense, commanders, political organs, staffs, and party and Komsomol organizations in aviation units must steadily focus their attention on problems of strengthening and maintaining model order in each squadron, group or wing in terms of improving flight and tactical training and developing in their personnel a feeling of high individual responsibility for flight safety. From the very first days of the new school year the personnel of our air force have been working with enhanced enthusiasm in noble socialist competition, implementing on a high quality level their training plans and programs and summing up and disseminating the leading experience of the best fliers, engineers and aviation specialists.

'RUDE PRAVO' SPURS DRIVE AGAINST ANTISOCIAL CONDUCT

AU231551 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Feb 83 p 1

[Editorial: "To Work Honestly--To Live Honestly"]

[Excerpts] Our society has resolved, and is solving, a great many difficult tasks in the process of building socialism. One of the most difficult is undoubtedly man's education, which is decisively influenced by the change in the social system, by economic conditions. However, on the other hand, this does not happen overnight. The economic conditions do not automatically change citizens into people who think and act in the socialist manner, they do not automatically furnish them with the qualities of a socialist personality and the morality of the new society. This is a long-term and complicated process that is not influenced only by our ideology and policy but also by the relics of the past, no matter how remote this past may be. After all, predatory morals, petit-bourgeois ways, consumer-type attitudes to life, selfishness, ruthlessness, parasitism and other similar repulsive qualities are still common in a great part of the world and some citizens of our country adopt them with relative ease.

There is no doubt that the prevailing influence on people's minds and conduct is our ideology, that socialist morality exists and continues to consolidate, that the absolute majority of citizens earn their living by honest, dedicated work.

Small wonder that this fact significantly influences the moral-political atmosphere, in which individuals who in one way or another flout the principles of the socialist way of life stand sharply out. Acting in a shameless and unscrupulous way, often without any inhibitions and in contravention of socialist ethics, they enrich themselves at the expense of society. There are other manifestations of antisocial conduct as well. Some citizens act in a way that grossly violates the laws and the principles of socialist coexistence. It is not always that such antisocial conduct of individuals meets with an emphatic, effective condemnation and penalty. This, however, makes these people think that they are immune to punishment, that they can get away with anything, that nothing will happen to them if they rob society, bring shame on the state and, when they are party members, damage its good name.

Yet in our socialist society there is a limit to everything. He who violates socialist legality, acquires property or other personal benefits without being entitled to them or violates the principles of socialist coexistence cannot expect anything but severe punishment.

There are possibilities for preventing negative phenomena. We possess valid laws and systems of control and we can adopt measures to make the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality and discipline more effective. As a matter of fact, we are obligated to adopt them. After all, the 16th CPCZ Congress clearly stressed and laid down that it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against those who live at the expense of society, against all forms of parasitism and racketeering.

Where are we to start? Above all, everyone should start with himself, at his place of work. That is where he must implement the task that is now of foremost importance--to strengthen discipline and order in the whole society as a basic prerequisite for an effective struggle against negative phenomena and for a successful fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Every party organization and every leading cadre must be fully aware that it will be held responsible for the consistent implementation of this requirement within its sphere of activity.

We have property in socialist ownership and everything possible must be done to protect it. It is not only immoral but unlawful when some individuals pilfer this property, using various--sometimes even apparently legal--methods. Where does this national property flow? Into the pockets of people whose way of life is strikingly disproportionate to their legitimate income and property situation. They are even capable of extorting gifts, tokens of attention and benefits, from which they profit, for example, in building family houses and recreational facilities, by obtaining real estate property on the basis of low estimates, purchasing various materials at prices that are lower than their current value and so forth.

Some people live quite comfortable lives from all kinds of bribes, from cheating customers in trade and services or from gainful jobs performed without a permit which become the source of disproportionate earnings. All these negative phenomena are worthy of condemnation. However, we must be particularly aroused by the conduct of people who, lacking any moral inhibitions and social responsibility, regard bribes as a matter of course. This is particularly immoral in those fields in which society ensures free health care and free education for the young generation.

We have not exhausted all negative phenomena, all the forms and manifestations of antisocial activity. Yet we would like to point out that disregard for all-social interests and the assertion of selfish group, local or enterprise interests at the expense of society is also a form of antisocial activity. This may take the form of unjustified adjustments of the plan; incorrect reports about plan fulfillment aimed at obtaining, by means of various machinations, premiums, bonuses and allotments; or remuneration that is not in accordance with the quality and quantity of work.



It is known that the highest party and state bodies have adopted a number of measures aimed at strengthening socialist legality, deepening the sense of cost efficiency in spending financial and material resources, tightening control and using working people's comments. However, we do not always succeed in resisting adequately, across the board, the emergence and persistence of some anti-social phenomena.

That is why the highest party and state bodies are dealing again with these issues and, together with economic and social bodies, adopting additional measures.

As we have already stressed, the basic task of the whole of society is to strengthen discipline and order. This is, indeed, a matter that concerns all of us and we all, in keeping with our possibilities, must take part in this process. It is natural that party bodies and organizations must play the main role in the struggle for reinforcing discipline and order, in the struggle against shortcomings of every kind. It is their duty not only to discuss instances of violation of party and state discipline but to deal with them resolutely and in a high-principled manner and to insist on their elimination. It is their duty to call to account, in line with the party statutes, every communist who--through his behavior and conduct--lowers the party's authority. An especially great exactingness must be applied vis-a-vis leading cadres at all levels of management. They must not be permitted to tolerate in the sectors entrusted to them violations of state discipline, various instances of lack of order, lack of discipline and loafing.

The Central Committee of our party has stressed more than once that inconsistencies in drawing conclusions and in personal responsibility, consideration of the position of or even providing protection for some functionaries and leading cadres creates distrust in the work of the party. And our Communist Party cannot permit and will not permit anyone to lower its authority and damage its good name.

Order, discipline, honesty and integrity--these are the requirements society imposes on all its citizens, communists and people without party affiliation, at every place of work. It is in the interest of every one of us to make the principled struggle against all shortcomings a purposeful and systematic one, and not a one-time-only campaign.

[The editorial is also published by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 February 1983 on page 1.]

CSO: 2400/174

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

INTENSIFIED DEFENSE TRAINING OF POPULATION--Yesterday's session of the CPSL Bratislava City Committee dealt with the current situation in regard to developments in defense training. Participating were Eugen Turzo, CPCZ department chief and Ladislav Sadovsky, CPSL department chief. Gejza Slapka, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary, CPSL Bratislava City Committee, stated that defense training is one of the most important and irreplaceable segments of the ideological and political activities of the communist party, state, social and economic bodies and organizations. He reminded that while ensuring the role of the CPCZ defense policy, and, as a consequence of the lately growing aggressiveness of imperialism, it is objectively unavoidable but to further intensify defense training of the population and thus to increase the defense posture of our socialist state and the entire socialist society. This requires paying maximum attention to defense training in all elements of this system, and the widest masses of the population. In his speech the CPCZ Department Chief Eugen Turzo appreciated the share of Bratislava communists in implementing the CPCZ defense policy, which must be considered an inseparable part of building a developed socialist society, as well as protecting security of our country. [Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 25 Feb 83 p 2]

CSO: 2400/166

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

PREMILITARY TRAINING--Quedlingburg (ADN)--On Friday, [11 February 1983] functionaries of the Central Executive Committee of the Society for Sport and Technology (GST) and staff members of the State Secretariat for Vocational Training ended a 2-day meeting at the Bernard Koenen School of the GST for Automobile Training in Ballenstedt. On this occasion experiences of the monthly uniform day of training in premilitary career training of apprentices were exchanged and results of the premilitary training in accordance with the higher demands after the Seventh GST Congress were evaluated. The forthcoming week of comradeship-in-arms will be used in the institutions of vocational training for patriotic and internationalist education. [Text] [AU141220 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German. 12-13 Feb 83 p 2]

CSO: 2300/141

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERT ANALYZES REAGAN POLISH POLICY

Warsaw DZIENNIK LUDOWY in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 3, 5

/Interview with Professor Longin Pastusiak, director of the Group for American Studies in the Polish Institute of International Affairs, by correspondent Kazimierz Baranowski: "Understanding Reagan. Why Does He Only Say That He Loves Us? That Cursed Word Detente. Poland, the Whipping Boy. We've Given Up Hope. We Needed to Fight It Out. We Wait For Improvement"; date and place not given

/Text /Question Polish-American relations are hitting bottom. In connection with this, I would like to ask you, professor: Who is gaining from this?

/Answer Are they hitting bottom? First of all, theoretically, they can still drop lower than they are. But if we compare present relations with those of the entire post-World War II period, although relations did fluctuate, if we present them on a curve, we would see that these relations really have reached bottom in a certain sense. That means this is their lowest level. The paradox lies in the fact that the infrastructure of these relations still exists. Although the Reagan Administration has broken a number of agreements, there still are about 100 different ones--between our governments, between governmental and nongovernmental institutions, between Polish and American enterprises--which still are intact.

/Question But the climate is bad...

/Answer Yes, the climate is bad, and although the infrastructure exists, other socialist countries have fewer agreements with the United States than we do, yet their relations with the United States are better than ours. A second paradox lies in the fact that Poland, which always had somewhat better, somewhat warmer relations with the United States than the other socialist countries, now has considerably cooler relations with it.

/Question Better relations, understandably, were influenced by Polonia /the Polish community abroad.

/Answer Of course, family visits, tourism by Polonia, cultural interest, and recently, firms from Polonia--all this has led to greater cultural and economic ties, as have many factors of an historical nature which I also

would not take lightly. I have in mind early Polish-American contacts, the part Poles played in the American fight for independence, the role of American diplomacy in the Versailles treaty after the First World War, Wilson's declaration, various programs of economic aid for Poland after the First and Second World Wars, the fact that there never has been a war between Poland and the United States but on the contrary during two world wars we were allies. All these are sentimental, historical factors. But sentiments do not count in politics; only interests count. Still, in a favorable atmosphere, as you emphasized, they can play a constructive role. But because a good climate does not exist, there is a lack of momentum in Polish-American relations.

/Question/ Then who gains from this, because surely everyone loses?

/Answer/ I am afraid that nobody gains. The United States loses and Poland loses, too. The climate of cooperation between East and West suffers because we are dealing here with the mutual influence of structured relations on bilateral agreements, and of bilateral on multilateral. The propagandists gain from this, strictly speaking, the conservative propagandists in the United States whose doctrine is opposed to detente and cooperation of states with different political and social systems. For them, the worsening of Polish-American relations is an illustration of the argument that socialist countries cannot be trusted and that what is happening in Poland is the beginning of the disintegration of the socialist system, etc. From this illustration, they of course are forming their own argument that we, as Poland, are the black sheep, and they are good, they believe in the right ideals and they are carrying out the proper policy.

/Question/ I would still go back to the first part of the question: Why has Poland become the whipping boy during the past months?

/Answer/ Here we are touching upon the basic matter, that is the motives behind the policy of the United States towards Poland. Polish society knows more or less the content of this policy, still the motives are interesting: What caused the American reaction to the events in Poland to be more severe than that of other western countries. The motives behind Reagan's behavior I would divide into two categories: one of a more general nature and one of particular motives. Let's begin with the more general. First of all, the process of the worsening of relations between the East and West did not at all begin with Reagan but started in the second half of the 1970's, and more exactly, when President Ford signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Pact and returned to Washington. There he met with a wave of sharp criticism, protest, and an offensive of antidetente forces.

/Question/ It had already started during the course of the Helsinki conference.

/Answer/ Yes, yes... And in the 1976 presidential campaign when Ford ran against Carter, he resorted, under pressure by antidetente forces, to the amusing statement that he was withdrawing the word "detente". As an aside, it is worth noting that English, one of the richest languages in the world, does not have an equivalent of the word, such as "odprezenie" in Polish, "razryadka" in Russian, "Entspannung" in German, "detente" in French; there

is no such word in the language of Shakespeare. The French word "detente" was adopted. Ford stated that he was removing the word "detente" from English saying that he would not use it, and other politicians said that not only did they not know what "detente" means in English but they also did not know how to write it correctly. I am speaking of this anecdotally, but it reflects the fact that we were already then dealing with an offensive of antidetente forces which put pressure on the Carter Administration then, and that manifested itself in, among other ways, an increase in defense expenditures, in the decision to install medium-range missiles--those were Carter's decisions and not Reagan's--in the delay in signing the SALT II pact, and later in the refusal to ratify this pact. These are all signs of the worsening climate in East-West relations and of the offensive of conservative forces.

/Question/ But we still noted the kiss in Vienna...

/Answer/ Yes, the kiss had its place in Vienna. Because Carter really did sign that pact in good faith, because the American and Soviet negotiators, after many years of discussion, agreed that a strategic equilibrium existed in Soviet-American relations which Reagan today is questioning. The pact was favorable to both sides. But when Carter returned from Vienna, it appeared that in the Senate, there were not 67 just members who would vote for the SALT II agreement. And without those 67 votes, the ratification would have been impossible. Carter admitted later, after leaving office, that ratification missed by a few votes. That is why he withdrew the pact from the ratification process because it would have placed the burden of responsibility on the United States and Washington was trying to avoid that. They thus used the pretext of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan to say that in such an atmosphere, the senators could not vote for the agreement.

Secondly, a wave of conservatism swelled in the United States. The culmination of this wave was the presidential election in 1980. Ronald Reagan was elected, considered the most conservative President of the United States since the time of Herbert Hoover in the years 1929-1933.

/Question/ But the world had a completely tolerable experience with the conservative Nixon.

/Answer/ Yes, but contemporary conservatism is somewhat different than traditional American conservatism. It thinks that the main determinants in Soviet-American relations cannot be detente and cooperation but must and should be confrontation, and with it the growth of the American defense potential and that of its allies, and discussion with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. I do not wish to say by this that conservatives are heading for total war with the Soviet Union. No, I am even saying that in Soviet-American relations certain areas of cooperation can exist, but the existence of these areas cannot be the basis for building U.S. trust in the Soviet Union. Not by any means! They can, for example, sell grain to the Soviet Union because this is in the interest of the United States; and here the interests of the USSR, as a consumer, and the interests of the United States, as an exporter, overlap, but this cannot be a basis for trust in the Soviet Union and so the defense potential must be built up.

And the third general motive, the group which is currently in the White House is more inclined to use economic levers for realizing political aims and thus economic, technological, and food levers as weapons for realization of political goals.

/Question/ Which we are feeling with particular sensitivity...

/Answer/ Yes, but there also is a group of specific factors which cause the Reagan administration to act like it does toward Poland.

Let's begin with the fact that Poland is not the apple of the eye of the Reagan administration. It is not an object in bilateral relations.

/Question/ Excuse me, but something contrary comes from President Reagan's statement...

/Answer/ Yes, of course, from Reagan's lips flows honey about how he considers Poland's interests, how he cares for Poland's interests. But in fact Poland in the hands of Reagan is an instrument in Washington's global play with the Soviet Union. That means if we look coolly at the policy of the United States towards Poland, we will see that for Reagan's group the situation in Poland is interesting insofar as it weakens the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact. Because we are the second largest member of the Warsaw Pact as regards military, economic, and population potential, we lie in a very sensitive point in Europe. Different transportation and communication lines cross through Poland so disturbances, destabilization and unrest in Poland weaken the Warsaw Pact, cause greater uneasiness in our neighbors and allies which of course is in the interests of the United States.

Secondly, Reagan and his closest advisors voice the argument that the events in Poland are the beginning of the end of socialism, the beginning of the disintegration of the socialist system. If he not only says that but believes it too...then in practical actions, he will not do anything which would prevent this process of disintegration of the socialist system. Contrarily, he will conduct a policy which will be conducive to this process of disintegration, destabilization, etc. And that is just what he is doing in the form of different actions, because after all, with his sanctions and restrictions he is not helping us emerge from the crisis.

Thirdly is the disappointment with the development of events in Poland. From analyses of the development of the situation in Poland it follows that another course of events in our country was expected. It was expected that in the end, it would come to battle, that Poles, crudely speaking, would come to blows, that it would lead to bloodshed. Then Poland's allies would cross into Poland. And then the West would have had, so to speak, an affair where not 4, but 400 lids would be blown. Then the whole propaganda issue surrounding Afghanistan would be completely peripheral compared to what would take place around the Polish issue. Then the crisis in the relations between East and West would be very deep and maintained for many, many years.

That did not happen. After all, let's remember how many American statements there were predicting an inevitable Soviet intervention into Poland. The press secretaries of the State Department and the White House, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and the President personally stated that in the next 24 hours, 48 hours, or 72 hours, the crossing into Poland by Soviet troops was expected. In the end, the Americans fell victim to their own scenario, they became prisoners of their own propaganda. That's how it is. Maybe, the decisionmakers in Washington were drawn by an incorrect appraisal of the situation. Why, they thought that the authorities in Poland did not have anyone to lean on; they thus thought that there would be an inevitable disintegration and complete breakdown of the sociopolitical system in Poland. Perhaps, these information sources did this because such information was well received in the conservative American establishment. The fact is that the disappointment may have caused a psychologically justified reaction, I would say.

These, as I said, are the more specific factors which caused the American reaction to be more severe, emotional, more hostile than the reaction of its West European allies to the events in Poland.

/Question/ In other words, should we find understanding for the actions and the attitude of Reagan towards Poland? The whole story is logically justified.

/Answer/ It is logically justified because after all behind the course of a particular policy lie specific interests and definite motives. If we make a politically logical analysis of certain moves, their aim is the distinction between the stated and actual American goals. The difficulty in analyzing American politics lies in the fact that the actual aims are camouflaged, surrounded by phrases about freedom, democracy, about good and honest intentions. In the politics of no other state is there so much of this liberal phrasing as in American propaganda.

/Question/ Professor, I don't know if this is the right word but I'll use it: terror between states has been practiced as long as states have existed. But at present, in the age of the United Nations Charter, do not some kind of brakes exist making possible the easing of terror, counteraction to the blows?

/Answer/ Theoretically, yes, of course. What is happening in Polish-American relations is a symptom of a certain pathology. This is not a normal thing. Both the international system and international society have worked out ways of regulating or of resolving conflicts and crisis situations which arise in interstate relations. You have already mentioned the United Nations Charter containing a certain system for resolving conflicts. Also, the Final Act of the Helsinki Pact in its three categories...

/Question/ Not binding in an international law sense...

/Answer/ Not binding but regulating the behavior of states in mutual contacts--in the political, military, and economic spheres and also in this third category--relations between peoples. What President Reagan is doing toward Poland is a violation of the second category, of economic cooperation,



as well as of the third category because when he breaks the airline communication agreement between Poland the United States, he violates the idea of communication between people...

/Question/ That's a paradox--to act against your own ideas.

/Answer/ Against your own ideas and interests because it also deprives American society of the possibility of easy contacts with Poland. Besides that, there exist appropriate diplomatic techniques for managing the various tensions in a crisis situation. There are good offices, mediations, negotiations, councils--these are old diplomatic techniques which have been in existence for a century which should be utilized in such situations when there is a threat of open conflict between two states. As is known, these techniques are not being applied here because there is a lack of good will for normalization on the part of the Reagan Administration. This normalization should be based simply on a renouncement of restrictions and sanctions. Because there is no willingness on the part of Washington to improve the climate, unknown since the time of the cold war, it is hard to restore it. Even during the cold war, Polish-American relations were somewhat warmer than the temperature today in East-West relations.

/Question/ How do you view the future?

/Answer/ The worst scenario would be one in which there was an improvement in East-West relations but bilateral Polish-American relations remained in the same cold state. Because, for the United States, it might be comfortable for example to have relatively proper relations with the Soviet Union and other countries and at the same time have a whipping boy like Poland, which can be beaten for everything and on every occasion; this would allow the American authorities to appear to insiders to be standing on principle, firm and still conservative, and at the same time to upgrade relations with other countries, consistent with its interests. All the more because U.S. interests in Poland are fairly limited. I have in mind economic interests. The United States attached hopes to the working out of certain political interests in Poland but after the introduction of martial law they could not count on this.

Enough talk though about the future. I would like to say that I look upon these matters with a certain modest optimism for an improvement in Polish-American relations within an improvement in East-West relations. This is tied to the political calendar and to certain tendencies in the United States. In a year and a half the election campaign in the United States will begin, crossing into an intensive stage. The election will take place in November, 1984. I do not know if President Reagan wants to run for a second term but the Republican Party will want to stay in power. The best way to stay in power is a good economic situation. Neither President Reagan nor the Republican Party can use the state of the economy as trump in the electoral campaign, because the United States is in a long-drawn-out recession. Even a gradual improvement will not be a sufficiently strong card.

That means that the President and the Republican Party will be forced to look for these trumps in the sphere of international politics. And I would not

count out the possibility that in a few months you will hear from the lips of President Reagan a conciliatory voice. He may present himself as a person concerned with the fate of peace. I can even imagine a scene in which he would say that in the two years of his presidency, credible military force was created, thanks to which parity was attained in East-West relations, and in this situation he may sit down to the negotiating table.

In this way, he will neutralize the antinuclear movement in the United States which is an authentic mass movement and will surely be an important political factor in the 1984 election campaign. Second, he will calm his allies in Western Europe, and they are displaying a greater desire to normalize relations with the East and to pressure Reagan to negotiate with the Soviet Union. Thirdly, with these conciliatory statements he will try to neutralize the peaceful initiatives of the states of the Warsaw Pact, even the proposition contained in the Prague Declaration.

If this happens it will be a tactical move but it may improve the climate in East-West relations. And in such a situation, I think that a certain improvement would be possible in bilateral Polish-American relations.

I do not expect, however, that in Polish-American relations there will be a radical improvement in a short time. Everything is in the hands of the Reagan Administration because when it comes to the Polish side, we still stand for improvement. It would be much easier for us to emerge from the crisis with the cooperation of the United States, and not with American sanctions and restrictions.

Everything lies in the hands of Reagan; everything depends on his good will. But for now I do not see that good will.

/Question/ Thank you for the discussion.

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CSO: 2600/371

COMMENTATOR CLAIMS BUSH TRIP CHANGES NOTHING

AU111307 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Feb 83 p 5

[Commentary by Ewa Boniecka: "Great Expectations"]

[Text] Vice President George Bush is nearing the end of his West European trip, which Washington has presented as a mission to explain the position assumed by the Reagan Administration in Geneva and the "need" to deploy U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in five NATO countries, should the Geneva negotiations fail.

Even before Bush set off on his trip, many U.S. dailies had assessed it as a "mission that could not be fulfilled" because he had no other arguments up his sleeve to defend the U.S. policy of building up the NATO nuclear armaments except for the argument that the USSR is "to blame" for the present stalemate in the Geneva negotiations and that Yuriy Andropov's proposals to reduce the present Soviet medium-range missile stocks to their level in the NATO countries are not worth considering.

Why then did Bush undertake his trip? It is easy to answer this question. His primary aim is to convince the West European public, which is showing such strong concern over the prospects of the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe, that the Reagan Administration is "doing everything" to bring the Geneva negotiations to a favorable conclusion.

But what arguments is Bush able to use if everyone knows that the so-called zero option, which is the basis of the U.S. negotiating position, has been rejected by the USSR as an attempt to make it disarm unilaterally? Vice President Bush has not brought any other counterproposals to Europe and has achieved what could be expected, that is, the reaffirmation by the West European countries (except the Netherlands) of Reagan's policy, which, of course, does not mean that the nations of these countries support it. In this situation it is hard to agree that Bush's trip has changed anything. Great expectations and great concern are continuing in Western Europe.

CSO: 2600/468

PZPR'S GAJEWICZ SPEAKS ON PARTY'S CONDITION, PROFILE

PM011309 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 3-4

[Interview with First Secretary of Krakow PZPR Committee and PZPR Central Committee candidate member Jozef Gajewicz by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz--date, place not given; published on the day of the Krakow PZPR Reports Conference]

[Excerpts] [Question] The party has withstood a dramatic trial of strength in the political struggle. This struggle is still going on. What lines of action should be adopted at the present moment to make the party ideologically more cohesive, politically more active and more effective in its work?

[Answer] The strength of the party must be derived from the trust and the esteem with which it is regarded by society. It will not arise out of party programs alone: an important factor here is the comportment of every individual party member in his workplace and his social environment.

I believe that there is no room in the party for views declared in words alone, or for lax criteria. Each PZPR member--no matter whether he is a worker, a director or a governor--must be assessed on the evidence of his results in party work.

If we want to have a party which is ideologically cohesive and effective in its actions, we cannot afford to tolerate the existence of many diverse groups within its fabric. The PZPR leadership took a definitive stand on this question, quoting the binding principles of our party statute and pointing to the necessity of concentrating the party's strength on realizing the goals signposted at the Ninth Congress.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, the party's ability to act and the degree to which its program will be accepted by society depend also on the qualitative and quantitative condition of its ranks, on their social and professional composition. Let us view this problem using as an example the processes taking place in the Krakow party organization. Can we find facts to rebut the widespread popular belief that the majority of those who left the party in the past few years were workers and that the percentage of workers in the PZPR is now quite small?

[Answer] We have had quite a few myths spread by our political adversary; like the one which claimed that the party had altogether disintegrated. That one did not pass the test of time. And so another argument was produced, one that had great carrying capacity for propaganda purposes: that the Polish United Workers' Party had been deserted chiefly by workers, that they are no longer present in the party. The truth is the best defense here: the statistics are not secret and it is possible to check and see how many workers remained in the party.

All the same, I would like to put the following reflection to you: The party's strength and its ability to act are not determined by its numerical strength alone, although that is not without its significance. We attach great importance to restoring our ties with the working class, and to activities designed to encourage workers to join our ranks by conscious--I wish to stress this--decision. But social status cannot be our only criterion. We are anxious to have party members who identify with our party ideology, who observe its statute and who are capable of realizing our program through their work.

[Question] How does the same problem look with regard to members of academic and cultural circles--who constitute such a numerous group in our city?

[Answer] Certain names have become indicators in these groups. It is publicly announced that a certain Mr X, or Mr Z, has left the country, or handed in his party card, in an effort to create the impression that that departure spells a end to Polish culture of Polish science, that it causes an almost complete atrophy of our culture and virtual paralysis of party work.

There is, on the other hand, a conspiracy of silence over those numerous representatives of the world of science and culture who stayed on in the party and in the country. If they attempt to remain in the limelight--their creative work and scientific achievement are negated, and various attempts are made to discredit them in the eyes of the public and convince the latter that no party member can rise above mediocrity.

Let me quote the fairly typical example of such a witch hunt aimed against the person of Prof Marian Konieczny, political and social activist, PZPR member, eminent sculptor (I trust he will not object to my quoting his case here). We have not forgotten the amount of vociferous criticism surrounding his monument to Stanislaw Wyspianski--nor do we fail to notice the silence which is reigning now that this same artist has won an international competition and is currently working on a great project in that zone--which is seen by some as wonderland--called the "KK" [kraje kapitalistyczne: capitalist countries].... I believe that this example--which is by no means an isolated one but, on the contrary, one among many--exposes certain mechanisms.

To close the subject I would only add that the Metallurgical Workers' Party organization at the [Nowa Huta] Lenin Steelworks boasts over 5,000 members, while the [Krakow] Academy of Mining and Metallurgy has some 700 PZPR members among its academic staff. These numbers speak for themselves and they

stand as facts against the widely disseminated myths. They also constitute proof of the fact that large organizations can defend themselves and that it is easier to eliminate the weaker ones....

[Question] In recent years the working class became the target of political manipulation. It was split into groups which were then set against one another and this caused both its subsequent weakening and a lessening of the role of the party within it. It also proved possible in a number of instances to inculcate in it a false concept of its own political interests.

My aim in talking about all this is to find answers to the following questions: What is the degree of understanding of these interests among the class which is the creator of its own, workers' party? To what degree is this class aware of the legitimacy of its aims, both the short-term and the long-term ones? How well can it articulate these aims? How should the leading role of the party be realized with regard to the working class and what is an effective method of fighting for the realization of its interests?

[Answer] The working class has demonstrated the highest degree of common sense and it holds a very mature view of both its own and general social interests. Conversation with workers is easy, even if the language can at times be rough. But I find it easy to talk with them about many things: I spent 10 years working among them. Fate tossed us back and forth all over Poland, and I came to value them highly for their work and for their honest and forthright opinions. That was why I made a point of going to the Lenin Steelworks to meet them and let them question me when I was the mayor [of Krakow], and I still do it today. And I am not offended when hard questions are asked. I see these meetings as most instructive. During the difficult years of 1980-81, and also during the state of martial law in 1982, we were able to arrive at a substantial number of solutions thanks to such consultations. I will also admit that the workers have helped to "straighten out" many of our views.

It is necessary to introduce the principle of asking for opinions; for the crux of the matter lies in the fact that whenever I came to realize a task that was suggested to me by the workers, it becomes /our common task/ [in boldface].

The party is not an island in society; it is an integral part of society, and it should attract the most dedicated and unselfish people. We do not lack such people. Our role must be that of serving society, serving the working class--so that the people among whom we work know that the workers' party does exist and is capable of fighting for their interest in every given situation.

[Question] The party should not grow old as its members grow in age. But we can already say that ours is a middle-aged party. What action, then, is being taken to increase the proportion of young people in its ranks. What factors can contribute to ensuring that that proportion does increase?

[Answer] I am against organized actions under the slogans of "We will increase" and the like...and your question suggests precisely this sort of thing. The presence of young people in the party must constitute a natural state of affairs, it must be an indicator of Poland's social profile.

[Question] It is not so at the present moment....

[Answer] This does not mean it will not become so. I base my belief on two facts: one is that youth issues have been given a place on the Central Committee plenum agenda, and the other is that the need to open up leadership positions in the party to people who are still well under 40 has been recognized and acted upon. And so their views and visions should be concurrent, and their contact with their contemporaries should follow naturally.

All the same, I believe that it is unnecessary to make distinctions between the young and the old. I subscribe to the view that the essential thing is to coordinate all action: the young should strain forward and pull, while their older colleagues should--drawing on their wisdom and experience--apply gentle restraint and, if need be, expert guidance, so that all the effort is not wasted. The process of these two values complementing each other will create bridges to close the gap between the two generations, and it will also win us supporters for our program, which in turn--as a natural process--will extend the party's ranks with more young men and women.

CSO: 2600/444

PZPR OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON PARTY WEAKNESSES

AU251325 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 6, 6 Feb 83 p 4

[Interview with Kazimierz Miniur, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of the PPZR Plant Committee in the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow, by Janusz Ratajczak: "On Socialist Justice, Political Desperados"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] I draw the conclusion from the way the reports conference of the plant party organization proceeded that there is still no calm inside the Steelworks and that divisions and strong controversies are occurring. What is the purpose of the battle?

[Answer] A difficult political battle is being fought, whose subject here in the Steelworks, as throughout Poland, is the face of socialism. This has a wider meaning than just the face of our party. What will socialism and socialist justice be like in everyday life? This is the most vital matter concerning all working people. For socialism is their system. So if I say during our battle that we are concerned with the quality of socialist reality for all working people, then I am referring to matters which concern all of us jointly, working matters whose solution demands battle against the widespread diseases in social life and in politics, the economy, ideology and people's ethics. And these diseases and deformations have formed over many years. Therefore, we are fighting against what is contrary to socialist justice and which is widespread and deeply rooted in our lives. We must combat the mass devastation wrought by bad organization of social life and especially by bad work, the incorrect way of forming the nation's capital for today and tomorrow and the way this capital was distributed, and the faulty way in which working people made use of this capital.

Of course, it would be a lie to say that this is a battle being fought by some elite narrow governing group for the sake of their own narrow group interests. This is a battle for the joint, basic interests of the widest circles of working people. The fact of the matter is that since August 1980, the reconstruction of collective life and activity has been taking place in the presence of such an accumulation of everyday internal difficulties and nuisances that small, narrow groups of avowed opponents of socialism are indeed sometimes finding it possible to make an impression on working people with their arrogant rowdiness.



Those who call themselves the political opposition--although it is becoming increasingly clearer that this political "opposition" is shaped like the propaganda used by the old foreign centers of anticommunism and is based on the principle that if facts do not fit in with their theories, then never mind about the facts--have no actual support by working people. Workers are not at all in a rush to govern the country. They want strong, worthy confidence in the state authorities and effective methods of control by these authorities. When they oppose the opposition, they avoid political adventurism. People calling themselves the "opposition" are gathering every day and mingling with their noisy words wherever they can add to the worries and difficulties of working people, so that they can prey on the irritation and general justifiable dissatisfaction being suffered because of today's difficult material situation. They try in this way to create an appearance of their social strength, whereas in fact they have not even managed over the past 2 years and more to present any sensible program for repairing the situation in Poland, not only a right program but understandable by workers.

Our main opponent when it comes to the face of socialism is also our own weaknesses--the system of organizing life and especially work. We must eliminate the bad methods of action which hinder the introduction of new and better ones. Our battle is concentrated on paving the way for such methods of action and forms of collective life which made it possible to live and work better. At least we can live without the illusions which have been spread up to now that we can immediately lead richer lives, as in the richest countries of the world capitalist elite, which of course are only a minority among mankind, which is struggling with poverty and backwardness.

[Question] Is the knowledge and social organization of workers not keeping up with life's demands?

[Answer] That is in my opinion the most important political matter. It has been our lot as a political party to bear the burden of battle against all the complex moral distortions dividing our daily existence from the proper shape of socialism without the joint activity of other workers' organizations such as trade unions and a range of other social organizations, and martial law stressed very strongly that it is our lot to do so. For example, there is no proper connection between rights and duties, whose implementation gives these rights. Walesa--and not only him but people formerly representing the PZPR as well--created the practice and social custom of giving people what had not been earned. These people presented socialism to wide cross-sections of people as a system of various privileges and not as a system of honest work and social justice. And this is where the real battle is going on for moral attitudes and views and this is where there is a daily clash between evil and asocial modes of behavior and those which are good for working people.

[Question] This means that today the party urgently needs trade unions. Is it then true--as foreign radio stations claim--that you as a party have established trade unions in your foundry?

[Answer] This is a common lie. The working people decisively and clearly reject any manipulated and artificial trade unions. Our party would suffer irreparable political damage if we set up such an artificial creation. What we need today is a very extensive front of reliable patriotic activities by the

working people. We need a front in which there are people with whom we can meaningfully talk and argue about socialist construction and establish what is true and what is false justice. That is why the process of setting up trade unions is a very close issue to us, but it is not we that we are organizing them. [as printed] Our party has honored the guarantees it gave to our workers in 1980 to the effect that the independence of trade unions should be safeguarded by law. We should be realists and see that oppositional agitation has left permanent imprints on workers' perception. There is a great deal of prejudice and mistrust with regard to trade unions. I am convinced that it is the needs of daily life and not our "ordering about" that are inducing the working people to set up trade unions. So many smooth words--right words, all the same--have been uttered about partnership among various organizations set by the working people that it is no use repeating them. There are so many individual, social and national problems to deal with that, as a party that keenly listens to workers and accounts to them for its policy, we are greatly overburdened in dealing with them.

[Question] Does this mean that you are dissociating yourselves from the birth of trade unions?

[Answer] We do not want to dissociate ourselves from trade unions, but we do not want to run them. It goes without saying that we have developed an effective method of action through very extensive and meaningful consultations with workers, which is quite different from the lobby and behind-closed-doors methods used before August 1980. This means that if some politicians--some KOR members, for example--again tried to impart to a new trade union the character of an antisocialist political party and to manipulate the working people against their own interests, we would go to workers to unmask openly such practices. We will combat such practices with the same consistency we demonstrated a year ago when we effectively countered the campaign of slanders, personal attacks and assaults against experienced party activists. This campaign sought to rally young and politically inexperienced people and to set up a "labor party" [partia pracy], which would in fact be an antisocialist party. Our primary organizations gained the necessary experience in that political campaign and will be able to profit by it. Like most workers' organizations, our party organization was able to defend its political and organizational existence even during the campaign preceding the Ninth Party Congress. This was a severe political and ideological struggle within the PZPR--within its primary organizations. This struggle was waged under external pressure, which was organized and intensified by the forces that expected that PZPR members would be ideologically disintegrated and lost in the chaos of slanders, accusations and anti-socialist propaganda. As I have said, it was a struggle against those who wanted to disrupt the party and even to disintegrate it. Self-styled leaders would then have been able to proclaim a change within the entire party or at least within a majority of primary organizations so that it could be transformed into a new party, which might have an appearance of a social democratic party or, according to some ideologues, of a Christian-socialist party, but which would in fact be an anti-Marxist and antisocialist party. This was what later on was aimed at when the Solidarity extremists desperately tried to eliminate party committees. However, primary party organizations were able to fend off this surge of attacks.

[Question] A series of street riots in Nowa Huta gave rise to countrywide speculations that the political opposition enjoys the support of the Lenin Steelworks workers.

[Answer] We are back in square one in our talk. I can tell you that political opposition has no such support among our workers. You should know that when the first shift is over--it was at that time that demonstrations were organized several times at the Steelworks gates--some 15,000 workers leave the foundry. Yet the organizers of demonstrations were able to muster just a few hundred workers. Let me add that at the same time that our first shift is over, almost 10,000 other workers finish their work in industrial, building and repair enterprises, which are situated within the limits of our foundry and in its vicinity. You do not have to be very imaginative to realize that if the organizers of demonstrations had even feeble support among workers for their actions they could have won over crowds totaling many thousands of people. The small original groups of demonstrators grew in number only during street brawls.

The last series of adventurist disturbances was organized in the Nowa Huta housing settlements where--after the unsuccessful attempts at it around St. Mary's Church in Krakow--this unrest was played out near the church in Bienczyce, in which religious rites were performed for a large crowd of the faithful. Most of this unrest was "imported" unrest. It did not originate with the workers of our foundry or with any other workers who have jobs in our area. It was a series of actions calculated to exert a psychological impact on the many thousands of workers going home after work and to sow unrest. The organizers of these actions counted on young people, who are prone to engage in unconsidered and spontaneous activities. You should know that most of the rowdies who were detained were teenagers. This is painful, but true. The sworn antisocialist extremists catch at any straw. Deprived of real support among the working people and having no feasible program, they exploit the inexperience and the firebrand qualities of the young.

We must not confuse the political struggle to overcome our Polish difficulties with the brawls in which rods and stones are used. The political desperadoes, assisted by immature or socially-wrecked groups of people, demonstrate under the slogans calling for the death of socialism.

CSO: 2600/485

ROME DAILY INTERVIEWS SOLIDARITY'S ONYSZKIEWICZ

PM261135 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 19 Feb 83 p 15

[Interview with Janusz Onyszkiewicz, former leader of Solidarity trade union, by Alberto Jacoviello in Warsaw; date not specified]

[Excerpts] Warsaw [date not given] [Question] You were arrested in December 1981 and released in December 1982: one year. Where were you held?

[Answer] A year and 10 days to be exact. I was held for a couple of weeks in a Gdansk jail and then in a Warsaw internment camp.

[Question] Were you able to talk to your fellow detainees?

[Answer] No. There were two of us to a cell. There was no contact with the others. Only toward the end were we able to exchange a few words during mass.

[Question] Did you suffer physical violence?

[Answer] No, never.

[Question] Mr Onyszkiewicz, you are a mathematics teacher. Were you readmitted to teaching after your release from the internment camp?

[Answer] Yes--and fully so.

[Question] A winning government can be generous, but not necessarily. What does the fact that you were readmitted mean: that the government has won and that it is being generous?

[Answer] I would not frame the issue in these terms. I believe I was readmitted to teaching both because I am fairly well known and because there is total solidarity in the university with those who have suffered internment. So it was not a gesture of generosity from the government, but an obligatory gesture.

[Question] Have others suffered a different fate?

[Answer] Of course. Many of our comrades who are ordinary workers are still waiting for their jobs back.

[Question] What about Walesa?

[Answer] Walesa is fighting to resume working at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyards. Hitherto he has received evasive replies.

[Question] You were one of Solidarity's national leaders. You are therefore in a position to speak with a knowledge of the facts. Tell me: What was in fact your aim in creating a movement unprecedented in the world of "real socialism?"

[Answer] Many things have been said and written. But the truth is that Solidarity emerged and fought, under Poland's specific conditions, to give the people a voice on very specific issues. The central problem was economic reform. We wanted people to be able to monitor its implementation and objectives. The reform implied major sacrifices. We believed that people would not have made them unless enabled to play a participatory role.

[Question] In other words, it was power sharing that was wanted....

[Answer] No, that is not what we wanted. As I told you, what we wanted was to exert our influence only in the certainty that the population would have guarantees regarding the objectives and implementation of the reform. Had we done otherwise, we would have committed political suicide. For the communist authorities, on the other hand, the acceptance of our proposals would have implied a substantial loss of decision-making power. Democracy would have been established.

[Question] What! You created or were creating an armed militia, no less. How could you hope to win by such means?

[Answer] That is a lie. We created security squads [servizi d'ordine] to prevent disturbances at major mass meetings. It is true that we were planning to create a security organization on a national basis. But only to this end. Even the Church created its own security organization on the occasion of the pope's visit. And the government had no objections.

[Question] It has been said that your motivation was hostility toward the Soviet Union and that your plans included Poland's abandonment of the Warsaw Pact. Nobody could have accepted such a plan. Neither Moscow, of course, nor West Europe either, for fear of very grave complications. Were you not guilty of rashness, therefore?

[Answer] There is no Solidarity document that can be cited as evidence of our desire to remove Poland from the Warsaw Pact. Of course, that does not mean that anti-Soviet feelings did not exist--and to a very large extent--among the population. But we did not invent them.

[Question] Mr Onyszkiewicz, if things are as you say, why on earth was it necessary to resort to martial law and military government?

[Answer] Sometimes it is possible to be a prisoner by one's own propaganda. This is what happened to the top Polish leadership. But there is another reason apart from this. The spread of Solidarity's influence drastically limited what remained of the communist party's influence. This is the real cause of the Army's intervention. Had it not happened, the situation could have become irreversible. Poland's face would inevitably have changed. Communist monolithism would have ended.

[Question] Did Moscow demand the intervention?

[Answer] The Soviets' position has always been very clear: order must be restored in Poland. Either the Poles did it or they would do so themselves. Obviously they preferred that the Poles do it.

[Question] Is Jaruzelski the Russians' man or is he also a Polish patriot?

[Answer] Several elements must be taken into account. First, in a Warsaw Pact country, and especially in Poland, it is extremely difficult to reach the summit of military power without the Soviets' full confidence. At the same time, however, there is also a patriot inside every Polish officer. It is virtually impossible to separate these two elements. Moreover, we have had some instructive examples in history. What was Petain: a mere tool in the Nazis' hands or a French patriot as well, in his own way? Time will tell who Jaruzelski really is.

[Question] For more than a year Solidarity has ceased to conduct legal activities. You personally spent a year and 10 days in an internment camp. I imagine that you will have had an opportunity to reappraise your entire experience. Can you tell me if you made any mistakes?

[Answer] A river in full flood sometimes breaks its banks. Who can say whether those breaches are caused by errors? That is what Solidarity was: a river in full flood. Our strength was inadequate to force it to keep within the banks.

[Question] But I am not talking about the movement as a whole. I am talking about its leaders--Walesa, you, and your comrades, Mr Onyszkiewicz.

[Answer] This does not seem to me the right time to discuss our possible errors. We will do so when we are less exposed to the government's blows.

[Question] Divergences have recently emerged between Solidarity and the Catholic Church. Do you feel betrayed, in some sense, by the hierarchy?

[Answer] It is arbitrary to see a Solidarity tendency and a Catholic Church tendency. The issue is more complex than that. The whole of Polish society is beset with intersecting currents. There are tendencies that share the use of moderate methods to attain radical objectives and others that share the use of radical means to attain moderate objectives. These tendencies exist within both the Church and Solidarity.

[Question] Let us speak plainly. Some by no means inept observers assert that there is a long-term agreement between Cardinal Glemp and General Jaruzelski to support each other to try and loosen the USSR's grip on Poland. Solidarity's elimination is allegedly the price paid by the Church to reach an understanding with the military government. What do you think?

[Answer] I do not believe that this is the case. I believe I can say, however, that within the hierarchy there is now a prevalent tendency to use moderate means to attain radical objectives. This can be explained by the fact that the Church traditionally sees things in a much longer term than we do and not on the basis of the theory you presented to me.

[Question] Last Sunday there were demonstrations in Warsaw, Gdansk and other cities. Were they spontaneous demonstrations or were they promoted by clandestine Solidarity?

[Answer] If they had been promoted by Solidarity I would obviously know about it. But I know nothing about it. I myself was attending mass at one of the churches where the Warsaw demonstrations originated. I was able to observe that it was an entirely spontaneous event.

[Question] Is Solidarity tending to aim more at clandestine or at legal activity?

[Answer] We are forced to aim at both. There is a press activity that legally we are not permitted to carry out. But everything that we can do in the open we do. This interview is one example.

[Question] Walesa has written General Jaruzelski suggesting a meeting. Jaruzelski has not even replied....

[Answer] He did reply indirectly, saying that many private citizens would like to meet with him, but that he does not have the time.

[Question] Yes, I know, but this reply has a political significance. In your opinion, what does it mean?

[Answer] It means that as long as he can, General Jaruzelski will continue to treat Walesa like just another citizen.

[Question] From your viewpoint is Andropov better or worse than Brezhnev?

[Answer] Andropov has the same problem that Brezhnev had, that is, maintaining order in Poland and restoring the communist party's leadership. Until the essential factors of the situation change, it seems unlikely to me that Andropov can differentiate himself from his predecessor.

[Question] How do you see the future, Mr Onyszkiewicz?

[Answer] It is always difficult to predict the future. It is even more so in the presence of irrational forms of conduct such as those adopted by the Polish military government. Be that as it may, I can say that this government has a vital need to remedy the economic situation. Hitherto it has not succeeded, and indeed things have deteriorated. Will it succeed tomorrow? I believe that one of the conditions is recourse to political means, centered on a real dialogue with the social forces. Then we would have something to say. We are not dead; for that matter, this was the message of Walesa's letter, in which he said that the time had come to reach an understanding, in Poland's interests. As you pointed out, that letter has remained unanswered. But unless the economic situation is remedied the future could become very dangerous. There could be an accumulation of tensions capable of leading to much more serious explosions than in the past. It is not we who will have desired them--still less organized them. The river is there. And the banks are fragile....

CSO: 3528/95



CHRISTIAN POLITICAL PARTY SEEN AS IDEOLOGICALLY IMPOSSIBLE

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 5, 30 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Yozef Wolkowski: "A Topic for Discussion: The Social Science of the Church and the Political Ideology"]

[Text] The dynamic growth, particularly in the past two decades, of the science of the church, which is also known under the name of the Catholic social science, or also as the social teachings of the church, is responsible for the fact that both these teachings and the doctrine they contain have generated wider and more general interest than ever. It is largely due not only to the internal evolution of this doctrine but also to the exceptional increase, particularly during the last few years, in the social resonance of the church.

The atmosphere of a vivid interest in the social teachings of the church produces influences on certain social and political phenomena, as well as the intellectual quests that accompany them. One such phenomenon is the increasingly more frequent tendency among the Christian communities and groups to resort to the social science of the church and attempts at finding in it not only an ideological support for certain public attitudes but also a ready-made sociopolitical ideology (or quasi-ideology) that those groups could try to implement by conducting political activities.

This posture corresponds to the appearance, in this country and elsewhere, of the postulate that had recently been pronounced in so many words--namely, that a Christian or Catholic political party should be created in Poland. It is true that the concept of such a party--in this case a Christian party--is not new in itself; after all, there exist and successfully operate in various countries Christian Democratic parties; however, these are, in my opinion, political entities which cannot be reproduced here for the simple reason that their current vitality stems from factors which in terms of doctrine are totally marginal, so that the "Christianity" they have on their banner does not even rise to the level of a party's customs and rites, not to mention more profound levels. These parties have simply become ingredients of the political structures of the countries concerned, and today few remember that on their banners they bear the confessional identification; their leaders are primarily concerned with expressing the interests and accommodating the opinions of their own political clientele that formed over the decades, rather than with expressing a Christian

point of view, or at least with harmonizing their standpoint with the Christian doctrine. The scale of actual and potential discrepancies between the positions of the Christian Democratic parties and the Christian doctrine, in this case not only social but even moral, could be gauged during the memorable political debates in Italy concerning the legislative regulation of certain aspects of marital and family life, when the Vatican made vain attempts to intercede with the Christian Democrats to adopt a certain political stand by referring to banner "Christianity" of their party.

If, however, the existing Christian Democratic or "Christian Democratic-like" parties, by force of momentum, can exist and operate now and for some future time in those nations where they exist and operate traditionally, the intention of creating a Christian party especially in Poland, where, remarkably, traditions of parties of the Christian Democratic type are less than modest, while, on the other hand, religious consciousness is relatively alive and the authority of the hierarchy is substantial --such intention would be bound to cause, with extreme acuteness, all kinds of theoretical and doctrinal problems concerning the existence and the sociopolitical representativeness of such a party, not to mention other, in this case secondary, but by no means trifling, problems of--let us say--a practical sort. Certainly, problems are there to be solved, and difficulties to be overcome. In this case, however, something else has to be considered--namely, the fact that, theoretically and doctrinally, the so-called problem of a Catholic, Christian or generally confessional political party is, in the consciousness of the church after the council, a resolved problem, an obsolete problem, even though probably not everybody has realized this with full clarity.

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Acknowledging the complete subjective identity of individuals, social groups, societies and nations, the church now speaks in favor of a pluralism of political solutions and positions. And for the Catholics--whom it encourages as never before to be active politically and socially--it gives just one basic precept, namely, that, wherever they are, they be a part of the church and, like the church itself, be a "symbol and pledge of the dignity of man"; and, wherever they are, seek practical solutions that will help preserve this basic value and serve it to the greatest and most universal extent.

Obviously, this basic moral duty of a Christian can be recognized as a desired orientation for any political ideology, or simply as a norm for any political program. There is no doubt, however, that a genuine and true politics begins only when we deal with a concrete political ideology and when this ideology is expressed in a specific program of political activity which introduces a hierarchy of goals: from the strategic long-range goals through intermediate stages and up to current tasks; which outlines--this is particularly important!--the choice of means planned for use to achieve these goals; which coordinates the actions following from the program with those of other political entities; and which, finally, foresees and takes into consideration the overall effects of diverse actions and events that go beyond the political sphere as such.

We find nothing of this sort either in the Christian science in the general sense of the word, or in the social science of the church. We do not find it there simply because there is no universal political ideology of the church recognized as the best one today. There is no model Catholic sociopolitical structure or a Catholic or Christian political program--no more than there is a Catholic geography or Catholic mathematics or physics.

While, at some time, a certain propensity to such monistic positions had been discernible in the social teachings of the church, during the past at least two decades, the church has been resolutely trying to disengage its position from all unequivocal political contexts, leaving the Catholics freedom of political choice, even though, of course, through its social teachings it tries at the same time to motivate the believers (and not only the believers!) to embrace certain human and public values, as well as to focus general attention on various situations in which these values may be endangered. These motivations towards certain values evidently have an indirect influence on the choice of a particular lifeland, including the choice of sociopolitical positions and views. This, however, is an indirect influence. After all, the final form of this choice is indirectly affected by a great number of other factors accumulating in the integrated individual, communal, or national consciousness of the individual citizen, group, or nation, respectively. The choice itself, however--and this should be borne in mind--is (must be!) an independent choice of the individual or group, and it would be mystification if someone tried today to conceal one's own political views behind the screen or under the umbrella of the social science of the church; representing one's own political views as the "Christian" view tout court is thus totally unjustified.

As a matter of fact, neither from the Ten Commandments nor from the Gospel nor from the tradition or the social science of the church is it possible to derive any particular political program or any specific sociopolitical ideology. So that whatever distinguishes the political attitudes of Catholics is not religion, world outlook or the social science of the church, but a certain political ideology adopted explicitly or implicitly and adherence to a certain political program rather than a different ideology or program.

From the point of view of the church, following the council, politics is a totally secular sphere, and the Catholics engaging in this activity are expected to be bold enough to bear the complete responsibility for the political ideology they proclaim and the programs of political activity they create--in this case, complete responsibility meaning that they should not resort to the authority of the church hierarchy and its masterly prestige, including the form of this authority represented by the social science of the church. Such ideologies and programs can, of course, be evaluated subsequently as standing closer to or farther from the Christian axiology in the sphere of preferred values, basic goals and adopted means. However, as far as we are dealing with the definition of "Christian" (ideology, party, politics...) in a purely formal sense, without additional definition of this "modifier" or "characteristic," there is no way to know what the word "Christian" precisely is supposed to mean.

Awareness of the principles of the social science of the church can certainly be of help to us in the proper understanding of our obligations in social or even political life--for this reason, incidentally, the church in recent times has been repeatedly encouraging the Catholics towards individual and collective (in laymen's groups) study of the principles of this teaching and life in accordance with these principles. However, I believe that the true knowledge of this science brings one to what appears a paradoxical conclusion--namely, that the social teachings of the church are incapable of substituting a political ideology or program, and cannot be reduced or confined to such ideology or program. This science is too narrow and too broad at the same time. Simply, it is something different--namely, it is, I believe, what it should be: one of the sources of religious and moral Christian inspiration--and a source which cannot be weaned from the integral concept of the church's authority. This conclusion refers--if anybody wants to differentiate between the two--to "the social science of the church," understood as a relatively organized and systematic doctrine or theory, and to the more dynamically conceived "social teachings of the church." John Paul II, with a characteristic resolve, put an end to sterile academic debate on this subject when speaking in Pueblo, where he said casually and simply, "the social science or teachings of the church."

Now, if the social science of the church in its universal form is only a source of inspiration for the Catholics in their sociopolitical convictions and a source of inspiration for their current activities and not a surrogate political ideology and even less so an outline of a particular political program, then one is obliged to draw the logical conclusion that, on the basis of the social science of the church, as well as on the basis of the Ten Commandments or the Gospel, it is impossible either to conduct a political activity or to politically organize Catholics around these teachings. If the Catholics want to conduct political activity and organize themselves into parties, movements or political organizations, they, like all other citizens, must organize themselves not under the protective umbrella of the church or behind a screen of Catholic social doctrine, but around their own ideologies and political programs, formulated at their own risk and under their own responsibility (and also, to the extent to which their consciences allow this, adhere to the programs and ideologies already in existence). Such is the price of complete, positively evaluated secularization of politics, or, figuratively speaking, the price that the Catholics pay for being treated by the church as mature and adult individuals. For many, obviously, this price may be too high and the adulthood premature. Too bad. Besides, this brings another inconvenience to those who would like to conduct one "Christian" or "Catholic" policy and be joined together in one Christian political party blessed with the authority of the church. Namely, if now one has a political program and eventually sets forth the political ideology supporting that program, one can say honestly only that it represents those of the Catholics whose views are identical with that particular ideology and who are attracted by this particular political program rather than by any other alternative--one can no longer claim that it represents, "in general," Christian or Catholic political views or the entire Catholic community.

From the wealth of Christian thought, it is of course possible and legitimate to draw diverse and manifold inspiration up to complete renunciation of all matters of this world. It is insufficient, therefore, if certain particular groups of Catholics or Christians make references to the Christian science, the Gospel, or, finally, the social teachings of the church--what is essential and crucial is only the effect of this reference to Christian sources as applied to a particular sociopolitical reality--that is, the specific ideological and programmatic conclusions drawn from this application. In other words, the specific form assumed by the ideology proclaimed by these groups and the program implemented by them. It is only after at least the fundamentals of the ideology of a movement are formulated and, to some extent, implemented that one can evaluate both how close it stands to the Christian hierarchy of values and how near or congenial it is to other ideologies. It is possible to evaluate, probably, not so much the degree of realism of an ideology, for each ideology, to some extent, is utopian, but rather the degree and, properly, the price and conditions for its "implementability"; or, namely, whether, on balance, it will serve to benefit society or otherwise. All this, as well as many other apparently secondary but in fact essential factors--such as, for instance, the moral authority of and the public trust in the exponents of a given ideology--obviously determine how much the society will identify with this ideology, and thus the extent to which it can be acknowledged as representative for a certain group of society. This is a sine qua non condition of vitality of every sociopolitical movement.



How does the problem of ideological self-definition of the PAX Society appear against this background? For the purpose of discussion it seems appropriate to make here a number of points which obviously do not encompass the entirety of issues related to this matter. There can be no doubt that PAX was, is and intends to remain an ideological and political organization and movement of Catholics guided in its activity by its own ideology, developed at its own risk and for its own communal responsibility, without implicating in this the moral and doctrinal authority or the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The discussion of the basic ideological principles currently beginning in the society will certainly provide a more specific self-definition of the ideological identity and clarify the basic facets of ideology of this movement--the ideology created and formulated for already nearly four decades under conditions which can safely be characterized as the Polish experimental ideological "laboratory." It is worthwhile to recall the subtle and complicated context in which PAX arose when, right after World War Two, it adopted particular ideological and political decisions. If the self-definition of its own ideological and political identity in relation to the official doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church was a matter of risk and audacity, the definition of its position in relation to the official Marxist-Leninist ideology was no less difficult or audacious. At any rate, it originated as a proposal for building socialism in Poland by enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Communist Party through ideological inspirations derived from a different world outlook. Although these were concepts with different ideological equipment, they were close

and akin in recognizing socialism as a superior ideological and political value. It is true that this provided, at least theoretically, the possibility of a creative influence on the direction of the evolution of that socialism in compliance with one's own ideology. There can be no doubt, however, that this was no less risky than sharing the complete responsibility for the actual direction that the development of socialism took in Poland. It seems to me that this particular element of the creative influence on the development of socialism and at the same time the willingness to bear the responsibility for the actual state of its development is a valuable and permanent element of the ideological identity of PAX and is worth considering in the current discussions concerning the movement's ideological self-definition.

The basic, rather than marginal, ideological and political controversy today, however, is not the question of implementation of a certain item of political program, but rather the question of whether the ruling Communist Party in Poland that has uncontested political power and proceeds from its own Marxist-Leninist ideology will continue to maintain balance and essence of not only bringing into effect but also collectively developing the socialist political program jointly with ideological partners whose programs of activity are not purely pragmatic or exclusively tactical but come from certain ideological roots. In other words, this is a question of whether the Marxist ideology will continue to be an open ideology or become an ideology closed to all other ideological programs, even if near to it in many respects. The solution of this controversy is closely linked with the so-called coalitional nature of government, which is lately mentioned so frequently and which will always remain ephemeral unless it rests on an ideological foundation. A positive solution of this issue on the basis of the theory of the development of socialism will also, in my opinion, put an end to the situation in which every, even most creative, socialistically, socio-political initiative that does not stem from a Marxist-Leninist ideology is eo ipso branded as "alien."

In conclusion, without going into details of the basic facets of the ideology of the PAX social movement, I will only dwell briefly on one item which appears to me to be of basic importance for adequate self-definition of the ideological identity of PAX. Namely, I believe that the core and gist of this ideology--of which probably not all of us are sufficiently aware--is the formula of the so-called triple commitment (patriotic, socialist, and world outlook commitments). Unfortunately, this formula is frequently understood and interpreted as if it concerned three equivalent but heteronomical commitments juxtaposed on the principle of *iuxta positio*. However, this interpretation leaves it devoid of its essence. It should be recalled, however, that this formula (supplemented with the "theory of inspiration") was supposed to be a polar opposite of the state defined by the slogan of "divided personality." The essence here leans on the simultaneity and integrated nature of these "three" commitments, on their reciprocal influences during the formation of what is, after all, one integrated human personality.

The specifics of our movement, in my opinion, thus is not simply attachment and respect for the three circles of values, which can be described, as a

shorthand, as Christianity-Socialism-National Culture and Traditions: the specifics are quite different (obviously, with all the due respect and affection for these three spheres of values); namely, it resides in the awareness of the possibility of their reciprocal interaction; then, the conviction that they are capable of exercising a reciprocally enriching influence on each other--while retaining the identity and separable existence of each; and finally, the understanding of the positive value of their simultaneous influence on an individual and on society. Taken together, all this indicates one truth: the interpenetrability of these spheres of values. It is the effects of this interpenetration that our ideology should demonstrate and embody. I repeat: Not juxtapose but demonstrate, articulate the effects of the interpenetration! This I believe is the gist of the formula of "triple commitment," indispensable for understanding the essence of the matter. The formula which must be the foundation and principle of a clearly defined and constantly developed and refined ideology of the movement--an ideology which is irreplaceable in the ideological and political life of the organization.

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CSO: 2600/392

CATHOLIC DAILY COMMENTS ON POLISH SOVEREIGNTY

AU081126 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 4-6 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Commentary signed 'M.K.': "Polish Sovereignty"]

[Text] Any discussion on the shape of Polish foreign policy since the war is inseparably connected with Poland's self-determination of the political map of Europe and with a confirmation of those principles which have enabled Poland to develop peacefully for almost 40 years and have guaranteed us security in a sovereign state. Such a discussion was the Monday session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

In its resolution, three basic factors illustrating our place in the world and indicating our basic goals of international activity were firmly stressed: the alliance with the USSR and our participation in organizational structures of the socialist community at international level; friendly relations with all countries desiring such relations on the principles of mutual respect, advantages and noninterference in domestic matters; and Poland's will, born out of historical experience, to take active part in laying the foundations of lasting peace and acting for the sake of disarmament and detente; in a word, for the sake of everything that sets the risk of a new armed conflict at a distance and not nearer.

Thus, it was confirmed that we are an active element in the international arena, and not a passive one. How active we really are in practice should be regarded as a measure of our sovereignty.

The concept of sovereignty has been misused largely due to the influence of 19th-century traditions of independence. For there is a general trend in the world today to relinquish a series of sovereign powers by joining military alliances or organizations like the United Nations and its specialized agencies, or even by signing international conventions. In connection with this, it is necessary to destroy the myth about sovereignty as a kind of "splendid isolation" [words given in English] in our consciousness.

Of course, Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact makes it less possible for Poland to make use of some sovereign features. But it does not restrict Poland's sovereignty in the sense described above, since only this kind of



sovereignty guarantees that we are capable of taking an active part in international relations. However, our position in the world today is not only defined by our membership in a concrete political and military alliance. An important factor strengthening Poland's international role is also--as Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski has rightly said in the Sejm--our nation's entire effort, accord throughout the country, the dispelling of crises, the improvement of our economic potential and national unity vis-a-vis the supreme interests of the state.

We protect our sovereignty best of all by rejecting external pressure, which often takes the form of open interference in our internal affairs. Let us only recall the effects of the economic sanctions and ideological subversion against our country. Even now, the progressing normalization inside Poland is gradually making some countries stop their discriminatory practices. A strong and consolidated Poland, and one which is immune to outside pressure, also offers the best prospects for cooperation between the nations of Europe and opens up the road to concentrating on the most important matters for the entire continent: halting the arms race and reestablishing a climate of at least limited trust from the climate that existed in the 1970's. A peaceful Europe which thinks seriously about rejecting the use of force in relations between countries inside of it needs us as a strong and stable state. For as a cauldron of tension we are at the mercy of those forces which are trying to impose a policy of confrontation threatening everyone with a conflict of unimaginable consequences.

It is also in this context that one should see the Sejm appeal to support actively the ideas contained in the political declaration made by the Warsaw Pact states in Prague and addressed to the entire Polish community, regardless of the views that are dividing it. If our voice sounds loud and clear externally, this will be the clearest demonstration of Polish sovereignty and will satisfy our intelligent ambitions. It will also enable us to consider and settle those difficult issues which are yet to be solved between the Oder and Bug rivers.

CSO: 2600/465

PROGRESS OF WORK ON TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT LAW OUTLINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview of Prof Witold Zakrzewski, chairman, Extraordinary Commission for matters governing the People's Council and Territorial Self-Government Law, by Krzysztof Mikolajczyk]

[Text] In the past year, the Sejm has passed numerous laws reforming nearly all sectors of Polish political and economic life. In the interim, work on the people's council and territorial self-government law continues on for nearly three years. The proposals were submitted to public consultants, the experts made their pronouncements, and the law that did not exist still does not. What is the reason for this prolonged legislative process?

The RZECZPOSPOLITA writer turned to Professor Witold Zakrzewski, chairman of the Extraordinary Commission for matters governing the People's Council and Territorial Self-Government Law, with this question.

[Answer] I will immediately declare that I am not a supporter of those laws prepared and enacted in haste. We observe, however, that the law was brought into the Sejm by the Council of State scarcely a few months ago. The legislative process by its very nature is drawn-out, necessitates calm, concentration, and above all else time. I would point out many legal acts which took a year or more of work by the Sejm. The People's Council Law is no exception. Apart from this, please note that the Sejm and primarily the Commission on Legislative Tasks are overworked. Recently, we accomplished an entire batch of public laws, thus quite naturally other issues must yield to a certain time lapse.

[Question] At its inaugural session, the Extraordinary Commission adopted a program of tasks concerning the law. In the chairman's opinion, is its fulfillment viewed as satisfactory?

[Answer] We have come to the conclusion that before the commission can begin to inquire into the specific legal points, it must compile and acquaint itself with the opinions on this subject. This has been fully achieved.

Commission members bring back many valid comments from their regional meetings with the electorate, which is vitally interested in the People's Council issue. The Sejm Socioeconomic Council and the Sejm Advisory Group have also presented their views. The Sejm Judicial Office also appointed a special group of experts, who presented individual opinions as well as a collective analysis. This being a simple matter took a great deal of time, and the current Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] Council Presidium also came out with the intention of presenting its views on the proposed law. We should have it at the end of the second week of February.

[Question] Undoubtedly, in the opinions which you mentioned, many observations concerning the proposed law were made. Can one isolate certain basic trends in the manner in which one approaches the People's Council issue?

[Answer] One must admit that opinions in large measure are critical, however, the fact remains that this criticism is of a very different character, and one must look at it from various points of view. To the principal controversial issues, I would add the question of whether or not the law is at all necessary. This, in turn is closely related to the response to the question of whether we should base it upon a structure of uniformity or duality of authority. Insofar as one wants dualism, or a distinct state character, the territorial self-government as an association in the traditional sense, then of course it is of no use to work on the proposal, but to instead put it aside ad acta and set about establishing a new self-government law. Nevertheless, in my opinion it is a basic misunderstanding.

A territorial self-government of this type has already been attempted. This is a concept suitable to the needs of a liberal nineteenth-century nation, and one which began to collapse at the outset of the development of the state's social functions. It would suffice, however, to examine superficially the fate of territorial self-governments in interwar Poland, which was established in fact on this dualism concept. The fact that it did not function properly serves as the best testimony to the entire structure's anachronism, and its unsuitability insofar as the new capitalist state was concerned. After all, the current character and model of a nation has changed. Self-government in this form is impossible, decentralization, however, is possible. Also possible is the distribution of tasks, measures, and authority throughout an appropriate judicial system, so that individual cells would be held responsible for the carrying out of established objectives. Therefore, a self-government not opposed to the state, but rather linked to it is needed. Such is the Commission's opinion.

[Question] I understand that this is a matter with a fundamental meaning. I presume, however, that you have not dealt with the entire issue.

[Answer] Sir, I would state that the law cannot replace all regulations governing specific administrative departments. Also, it cannot constitute a set of slogans, but must be coordinated with the entire system of judicial norms. Moreover, we must maintain an up-to-date state of authority and reciprocal dependence among individual administrative units with the Council of Ministers, one which would allow for rectification of certain imprecise

entries within the current proposal. It is here that many real examples can be introduced, even education. Can the problems connected with it be coordinated on the community level, or the hitherto existing tendency toward regionalization derived from nonfunctional administrative fragmentation? Intermediate levels, among other things, are being established between the community and the voivodship in such fields as health care and epidemiology. Something must definitely be done about this, as the danger exists that when the People's Councils are strengthened by the establishment of stable regional structures, as is our intention, the administration will slip away from under council and self-government supervision.

[Question] I have carefully followed the progress of public consultation on the proposed law. I must admit that in the course of it, matters of such consequence were not raised. Instead, much was said and written about specifics. The relations between the council and the administration constituted a topic of great interest, specifically concerning the manner in which the state administrative organ would be established.

[Answer] Undoubtedly, this is an enormous problem, and in addition of a very complex and delicate nature. While not going into detail, I will indicate that the Socioeconomic Council proposed retention of the principle of the appointment of the governor by the premier; however, regarding city and community leaders, the People's Council will exercise electoral power, and in turn guarantee the voivodship the right to dissent. This view met with the Commission's agreement, and I believe that the final version of the law will adopt a solution in accordance with it.

[Question] From our conversation it is evident that there is still much which remains to be done. When will your Commission finally conclude its work?

[Answer] I am always very wary of giving definite time frames. It appears to me, however, that we should be ready by May. I would like to add another comment and that is, that this law should not be viewed as an instant and powerful counteractive cure for the shortcomings of council and self-government work. The strengthening of the councils, the restoration of their identity, and the fulfillment in full of their undeniable authority is a long social and political process. The law only endows it with a legal framework, whereas the substance is always dependent on practice.

12229

CSO: 2600/385

SLUPSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Youth Matters in Party Work

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 30 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Janina Kruk and Waldemar Pakulski]

[Text] Yesterday in Slupsk a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) was held to assess the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum resolutions in the voivodship on party work with youth. In attendance were Waldemar Swirgon, Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) National Board; Wieslaw Osuchowski, first vice chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) Main Board; Antoni Krysiak, deputy commander of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP); Stanislaw Steclik, secretary of the ZMW National Board; and representatives of the voivodship echelons of the political parties, youth organizations, state administration, civic organizations, PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and FJN (National Unity Front).

Mieczyslaw Wojcik, KW first secretary, conducted the meeting. Tadeusz Jarecki, KW secretary, representing the KW executive board, delivered the report leading to the discussion. He said that the matters and problems of the youth and its organizations during the current sociopolitical and economic situation, are at the top of the list of tasks facing party organizations and party members.

Half of the voivodship's population is under 35 years of age. This young society has many vocational, social and economic problems which must be effectively resolved. The party, struggling for the socialist awareness of the youth, should provide it a broad field for action, and build its confidence in the PZPR Ninth Congress' program of reforms.

The KW secretary devoted a considerable amount of space to the work and activities of the youth organizations, underscoring both its positive achievements as well its weaknesses, particularly in organizational, training, and ideological activity. Approximately 44,000 of the young people in the voivodship are affiliated with the ZSMP, ZMW and ZHP. The youth organizations do not always and everywhere concern themselves with the problems that are vital to the interests and expectations of the youth. One of the defects in the work of youth organizations is its tendency toward superficial action.

Unfortunately, the work of the primary party organizations with youth must be assessed negatively. The studies made showed that responsibility for work with the young is often accepted verbally. There is insufficient ideological and political work by the party in the youth circles, both in school as well as in workplaces, where the upbringing influence of party members is weak and often ineffective.

The KW secretary examined the situation of youth in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the economy and called attention to the need to reevaluate the directions and methods of work with youth so as to involve them in the creation of new trade unions, in the work of workers self-governments in the countryside and in the towns, and in the shaping of a climate of economical management.

A discussion then followed, in which the following took part:

Jerzy Mazurek, research worker in the Higher Pedagogical School, chairman of the Voivodship Council of Youth Organizations, expressed the fear that the crisis in the awareness of the young generation will be difficult to overcome. This is shown by the scientific studies conducted by the Higher Pedagogical School, whose primary goal was to obtain an answer to the question: What is our youth like? In anonymous questionnaires, a group of students and working youth answered questions on such subjects as the attitude of the youth, its participation in the youth movement, its relationship to what is happening today, and its participation in the processes of normalization in the country. The results of this survey should be gravely considered, for it revealed the outlooks of the young generation. Distrust and criticism are prevalent in them, and also a striving for truth and social justice. The speaker called attention to the fact that the student youth that were surveyed, our future teachers and educators, themselves avoid active participation in the youth movement, in the establishments of its goals.

Zbigniew Zieleniewski, chairman of the ZSMP town board in Slupsk, pointed to the fact that the mass media do not take advantage of the opportunities to shape role models for the youth, in the creation of attitudes in the face of the surrounding reality through popularization of the good experiences of youth organizations. The editorial boards should consult with the youth more frequently on their problems, and the youth organizations should also set up their own publishing houses.

Kazimierz Windorpski, ZHP deputy troop commander in Slawno, a teacher, call attention to the problem of instructor cadres in scouting. In the Slawno troop detachment, consisting of 2,000 cubs and scouts, there are 102 instructors. These are primarily enthusiastic, dedicated, long-time activists, often women who have families, and who are absorbed in professional work. There is often an increasingly larger age gap between them and their charges. Young people should be brought into the cadre, but young teachers avoid work in organizations, all kinds of community activities. Unfortunately, the negative selection to the teaching profession goes on. In the opinion of the speaker, it is essential that teacher-training schools be reactivated, schools that also prepared the teaching staffs for versatile, solid extra-curricular work with the young.

Henryk Gradzki, chairman of the Voivodship Sports Federation, discussed the role and importance of physical culture and sports in the social life and upbringing of the young generation. The Federation coordinates the activities of clubs and unions, affiliating 7,500 competitors. The sports successes of the leading teams and competitors form an important part of the experience of youth and adults. During the last three years there were serious problems in the implementation of a sports and recreational events program, due, among other things, to greatly reduced assistance from workplaces.

Ludwik Zapolski, chairman of the PRON Provisional Voivodship Council, thanked the young people for their active participation in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and briefly discussed the Movement's program, in which comprehensive measures have been planned to improving the living and working conditions of the young generation.

Mieczyslaw Sieg, chairman of the ZMW Voivodship Board, said that the Rural Youth Union is a young organization, which arose from the real need for deep reforms in the countryside. For the young 17- and 19-year-olds, for that is the average age of the members, ZMW is a social service school which wants to support the authorities. However, ZMW activists, in facing life's problems, often find themselves at a loss. This was shown many times during meetings with the aktiv. They called attention to the difference in the conditions under which rural youth must establish themselves in adulthood. There are not enough qualified teachers for the countryside, there is a shortage of schools, and there is no housing for teachers. Cultural facilities are also inadequate.

Zenon Bogucki, teacher from Przechlewa, People's Sports Association (LZS) and ZMW activist, referred to the previous speech describing the conditions for development of mass sports in the countryside and the conditions for tourist travel. He compared the financial conditions of some sports clubs in the cities with the conditions of the rural sportsmen, where funds are incomparably low. The problem, in any case, is not just funds. It is no wonder that under these circumstances the youth is distrustful, and standing on the sidelines. Words must be followed by concrete actions.

Jan Sienko, chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Board, placed special emphasis on implementation of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum resolution. He criticized the action of the authorities thus far in improving youth's social situation. He called attention to mistakes in ideological and propaganda activities, because, he said, we do not know how to skilfully use the radicalism of certain youth groups to attain social goals, and particularly economic goals. This is seen clearly in the difficulties in applying economic reform.

Rajmund Kuczkowski, a young farmer, ZSMP member from Pomysk Wielki, described some measures indicating the activity of the young in the countryside. He criticized the lack of collaboration with ZMW, accusing the activists of that organization of "raiding" [offering bribes and incentives] and arousing false illusions in the youth of some villages.

Marek Lewandowski, chairman of the ZSMP Board from the Citizens' Militia Cadet School, concentrated on the picture of the young as shown in the current propaganda, criticizing this propaganda for its superficiality and verbalism, which in his opinion, is responsible for the inaccurate interpretation of the problems of the youth.

Zenon Klemenczak, deputy chief of the Voivodship Military Staff, referring to the subject of the recently held armed forces ideological conference, analyzed the situation in Slupsk education, criticizing certain fields of the schools' educational work, including instances in the Bytow region where the secular character of the school as a state center of youth upbringing was renounced.

Jacek Erbel, ZSMP activist in the Navy Specialist Training Center in Ustka, in assessing the participation and causes of underactivity of youth in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, said that the fault for this lies with the youth organizations. He also postulated closer involvement of the youth organizations in youth's patriotic and defense upbringing.

Bohdan Kaniewski, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee from Slawno, called attention to the need to take responsibility for youth's upbringing by the other institutions and organizations of the official upbringing system, including the family, workplace, and the military. He criticized the system of teacher training, stating that the results of poor work in this field cause problems in upbringing children and youth.

Stanislaw Sojka, chairman of the Democratic Party (SD) Voivodship Committee, pointed to the need to reinstate the Union of Democratic Youth, saying that the SD wants to, and will, take political responsibility for the ideological program of this Union.

Zofia Dralus, ZHP instructor and scientific worker in the Higher Pedagogical School, devoted her speech to the problems of patriotic upbringing, in which, in her opinion, ZHP has long and good experience.

Eweryst Iwinski, deputy commander of the voivodship Volunteer Labor Brigades (OHP) in Slupsk, discussed the problems ensuing from the upbringing activities of the OHP and demanded that this organization be given assistance in organizing brigades of the young, which are being eliminated in the factories in view of badly conceived economies resulting from economic reform.

Jerzy Wojcik, commandant of the ZHP Council, described the experience of the scouting cadre in upbringing children and youth, emphasizing the need to support the upbringing efforts by the PZPR and other political parties, the school, family, and the entire society.

Tadeusz Jasioneck, vice chairman of the ZSMP City-Gmina Board in Slawno, criticized the previous speakers, stating that the plenum on youth subjects turned out to be more an occasion for complaining about shortcomings and mutual criticism than an attempt to describe how the resolutions of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum are being implemented after several months have elapsed. The youth need models of effective actions. And there is no shortage of these, either in the country or in the Slupsk voivodship. For example, there are the results of the work of the Council for Youth Affairs in the Slupsk voivodship.

Eugeniusz Szymanczak, director of the Voivodship Office Employment and Social Affairs Department in Slupsk, concerned himself with the problem of youth's socio-occupational adaptation. A great deal in the vocational work of the young depends on the time at which it began. On whether or not it encounters cynicism and slyness.



Investment in youth is a difficult, incommensurable, task. It is not surprising, therefore, that workplaces are always seeking employees with experience, and employ school graduates very unwillingly. Factories always put economic results in first place, and after all, in a socialist state the workplace must be part of the system for bringing up the young generations.

Speech by W. Swirgon

At the conclusion of the meeting, the secretary of the Central Committee, Waldemar Swirgon, took the floor, underscoring the importance of the deliberations. He said that the problem of youth is only a pretext for a broad discussion on the economic problems of the state, on ideology, on the shaping of the awareness of the masses. For youth is not a separate class, a social strata, or even a uniform community. This is an indispensable reservation, just as are the next two: The class struggle does not occur along the lines of the young and the old. And it is not youth who bears the results of the crisis most acutely, for it is, after all, something that we must all share.

Our party is experiencing a revolutionary transformation in the position of the party, which has become a revolutionary ruling party. We are now conducting a struggle for a new form and method of party work, which also includes work with the young.

The party's program after the Ninth Extraordinary Congress is creating the framework for the future. There is no vision of a welfare state in this program, a giving state, which was the mistake of the 1970's. This work method did not produce positive results. We want to make it possible for those who want to help themselves, to do so.

The party is focusing attention, comrade Swirgon said, on three areas of activity. On social policy toward the young who are establishing themselves in life. On the activity of the party with party youth, i.e.. the young communists' movement, and on the collaboration of the party with the youth movement.

In wishing the Slupsk party organization success in its work, the Central Committee secretary once more stressed the main goals of the party in work with the authorities, as outlined by the Ninth Plenum.

In closing the meeting, Mieczyslaw Wojcik, KW first secretary, said that the relevant, and sometimes controversial discussion, will be the basis for the echelon's continued work.

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The Voivodship Committee passed a resolution defining in detail the directions, goals and methods of operation of the Slupsk party organization in implementing the Resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum.

## Plenum on Social, Economic Matters

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Waldemar Pakulski and Wladyslaw Luczak]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) was held last Friday, the 10th, in Slupsk. Present at the meeting were the following: Ryszard Hutterski, assistant manager of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Division; representatives of the managements of the voivodship echelons of the ZSL (United Peasant Party), SD (Democratic Party), and factory organizations, the Voivodship People's Council' and the Voivodship Office.

The meeting was opened and conducted by the PZPR KW first secretary, Mieczyslaw Wojcik.

The report of the executive board leading to the discussion, describing tasks for the party organizations and echelons in solving the voivodship's crucial socioeconomic problems in the light of the Central Committee's Tenth Plenum resolution, was delivered by the KW secretary, Edward Szydlik. In the introduction he stated that the KW regularly follows the implementation of the resolutions of preceding plenary KW meetings devoted to economic reform in industry and construction, and in agriculture, which took place at the turn of and at the beginning of the present year. At that time, the application of economic reform was assessed critically. The atmosphere of incapacity and bystanding has not yet been overcome everywhere. Not everywhere have the factory workforces and managements shown self-dependence, initiative and commitment.

The assessment now being made of the state of application of economic reform, comrade Edward Szydlik said, is based on the experience and results of the operations of enterprises after 10 months of this year.

According to the report of the Voivodship Statistical Office and the economic opinions prepared by the Voivodship Branch of the Polish National Bank, production figures in industry and construction for 10 months of this year are 7.5 percent lower than those of the same period last year. Furthermore, labor productivity fell 3.4 percent, while there was a large increase in the wage fund. These figures are worse than the national average. A certain objective justification may lie in the fact that last year's voivodship indicators were higher than the national average.

Results of the last three months allow us to assume that these negative phenomena have been halted. Distinctly better economic ratios appear in the socialized small-scale industry and cooperatives, where foreign-exchange income rose from export deliveries. It is estimated that the value of export will amount to over 3.5 billion zlotys and will be about 10 percent higher than last year.

The price policy, and the high profits that follow, is disturbing. Reform has confirmed the ability of almost all enterprises to self-finance, however the disparity between the size of production and the wage fund and level of labor productivity means that it is the responsibility of everyone, including party organizations and echelons, to search for ways to effectively improve these basic economic ratios.

Agriculture, despite known problems, generally showed good results, better than in previous years. The voivodship is doing well in implementing its plan for procurement of grain, milk and other farm crops, and the self-dependence of state farms, aside from a few cases, is bringing about the desired economic results.

In the light of the assessment made, the KW secretary described the tasks ensuing from the resolution of the Central Committee's Tenth Plenum for the party organizations and echelons.

The governor of Slupsk, Czeslaw Przewoznik, then took the floor, and in the name of the state administration, described the basic assumptions of the voivodship's socio-economic development for 1983-1985. They are prepared in two variants and will be submitted for broad consultation. Both variants envisage maximum utilization of means remaining at the disposal of the voivodship and its production potential, and concentration on operations of a non-investment nature. The main goals of the plan follow this sequence: market supplies for the populace, agriculture, industry, health service, and education. This hierarchical listing of goals results primarily from real economic capabilities.

The characteristic feature of the plan is its striving to utilize all of the voivodship's capabilities. For example, in order to improve the availability of supplies to the populace, processing and storage facilities will be greatly expanded, making use of small and medium meat- and food-processing plants. One of the urgent tasks in agriculture will be the at least partial compensation for neglect in reclaiming land and putting in water. The current-year's plan already foresees a 30 percent increase in financial tasks in this field.

The governor devoted a considerable amount of space to housing construction. The elimination of multi-level management and ministerial divisions has turned out to be a success. During the past two years a number of multi-variant programs have been prepared, which made it possible last year to halt the decline in housing construction, for the first time since 1976. In the last year, 30.2 percent more dwellings were built than in 1980. Despite difficulties, particularly since the leading enterprise in construction, SBP, is still not working well, it appears that it will be possible to fully utilize the production capacity of the house factory. It is also essential that conditions be created by which private housing construction can develop.

Following the governor's speech, a discussion began.

Tadeusz Mrozowski, PZPR Plant Committee first secretary from the Slupsk Furniture Factory, presented production figures for the factory in the current year and the premises on which they were calculated. The party organization and the Factory workforce concentrated their efforts on executing the planned tasks of market and export production and on improving management efficiency. Unfortunately, from the beginning of the year, material shortages and a large drop in employment had an unfavorable effect on implementation of the plan. In recent months there has already been some progress: monthly plans are being executed, production is growing, and there is reason to believe that export tasks to socialist countries can be implemented.

Barbara Kadlubiec, first secretary of the primary party organization in the Pogorzewo State Farms, gave the opinion and assessment of several workforces and managements of State Farms on the subject of the results of economic reform, assessments which generally agree that reform has had a good effect on the self-dependence of enterprises and the efficiency of their management. However, the system of wages, which does not fit the reform, particularly in the workers' positions, arouses serious doubts. For example, two-thirds of the emoluments of certain workers are made up of social allowances together with compensation. The speaker also cited many problems from her own enterprise.

Bogdan Mierzlikin, first secretary of the Factory Committee in the "Ustka" Shipyard, expressed the belief that the struggle for people, for their convictions, will be won sooner if we achieve progress in the economy sooner, and improve the availability of market supplies. People, he said, are earning quite a bit, and have money, but this money gives them no satisfaction for they cannot obtain the goods that they need for this money. Hence they are unwilling to work overtime and on free Saturdays. He proposed that the desirable goods be sold for coupons distributed through the workplaces to the workers who do outstanding work.

An incentive system introduced into the Shipyard is bringing the anticipated results. It would be well if a listing of the systems introduced in various factories would be prepared, and the positive elements of the systems disseminated.

Mieczyslaw Krawczykiewicz, director of the Voivodship Branch of the Polish National Bank, discussed the participation of the bank employees in the application of reform in factories. These workers first tried to obtain a good understanding of the main assumptions of reform themselves, and then give maximum assistance to the factories. They have already completed this first stage, all enterprises have the funds for self-financing, and for generating investments, and even for development investments. But most have achieved profitability through price increases. There are also other improprieties, such as a large shortage of labor while, at the same time, production has dropped and there has been a large decline in labor productivity. The management cadre must still be trained, for many enterprise managements still do not understand the essence of reform and are not able to make decisions independently.

Henryk Kondratowicz, member of the KW executive board, president of LOSOS Maritime Fishing Work Enterprise, stated that in assessing the economic figures of the current year, one should take into account the effect of the decision of the Military Council for National Salvation on the atmosphere in which the tasks are being implemented. In examining the results of the fishing enterprises, which exceeded their tasks, Kondratowicz said that martial law had a favorable effect on production and on the economy in general. People were able to work calmly and in a disciplined manner. The calm social atmosphere and improved work discipline show that we can come out of the socioeconomic crisis by our own efforts.

The speaker criticized the accountants and economic services in the enterprises who saw high prices on products as the only way of achieving a profit. As a result, they did not obtain any positive results because the budget will take these excess profits and the dissatisfaction of the people will remain. He also criticized the assumptions of reform which favored the retention of a large workforce in order to achieve a high average wage. However, new rules which go into effect on the first of the year will be aimed at those who reduced employment levels earlier.

Janislaw Stepień, manager of Prefabrication Enterprise No 2 in Czarno, criticized the voivodship's administrative authorities for their delay in developing private construction. The enterprise from Czarno offered prefabricates, but no one took the trouble to conclude the contracts and define the requirements.

Kazimierz Bartelik, member of the PZPR Central Committee, discussed the social prerequisites for applying reforms, the American sanctions, and the assistance shown to us by the USSR and the socialist countries.

In the first stage, Bartelik said, only two of the three elements of reform were applied--self-dependence and self-financing. The third element is essential--self-government. Unfortunately, here it is more difficult. Price increases and the lower standard of living undermine the credibility of reform, are responsible for the workers not understanding it and not being personally interested in its application.

Karol Szuflita, manager of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration branch, discussed different forms of training cadre in the field of economic reform.

Rafał Michalkiewicz, assistant manager of the Voivodship Branch of the Bank of Food Management (BGZ), first criticized particularly those enterprises which have highly raised the prices for their services to agriculture. Some, he said, were increased as much as six-fold. As a result, agriculture came out the worst in reform, for prices on products are official, but on means for farm production, they are fixed by contract.

The speaker widely discussed the problem of deficits in socialized farms. This year the deficit will amount to 720 million zlotys, and for next year, 850 million zlotys is planned. Not everything is dependent on the workforces of the enterprises, and forced profitability may lead to a decline in livestock raising and meat deliveries.

Stanisław Grygola, employee in ALKA Northern Leather Industry Plants, discussed this year's production figures in the enterprise. There was a 3-week shutdown in the plant this year during the first quarter because of lack of materials. This "cost" the plant 330,000 pairs of footwear. It was much better in the second half of this year. An improvement in supplies made it possible to obtain better figures than during the same period last year. The incentive allowances that were introduced reduced absences.

Jan Pawełczyk, manager of the Dymitrow High Voltage Equipment Works (ZWAR) in Lebork, said that the drastic reduction of investments in the country put the Lebork Works in a difficult situation. Demand for its products dropped, which forced it to examine the market and start up new production. The management of the Works, by conducting a policy of economical employment of the wage fund was not able to achieve its intended goal. It appears that such a policy cannot be conducted single-handedly. The average wage in ZWAR turned out to be considerably lower than in the voivodship, and as a result in recent months it was increased.

Jan Pawełczyk broadly discussed the internal premises for the success of reform. He believes that to a large degree reform is dependent on mid-level supervision, which has a decisive influence on social justice in the plant. The foremen and brigade

leaders, in assigning tasks, decide on the size of earnings. White-collar workers, who have a large influence on the establishment of interpersonal relationships, have a similar responsibility. The first period in the application of reform showed that part of the middle-level supervision will have to be removed, since it is not able to carry the full weight of reform.

Boleslaw Pyra, member of the PZPR KW executive board, president of the Warszkowo Agricultural Producer Cooperative (RSP), believes that in the past two years some favorable transformations occurred in the awareness of the members of the cooperative. They understand now that they can share only in what they jointly produce. But the lecture materials prepared for the plenum have revealed that some people have even been able to obtain high profits during the crisis. We must be aware that this does not assist in overcoming the crisis, and in convincing people that the efforts that they are making are justified. It is also sad that party members are also contributing to this distortion of the meaning of reform.

Boleslaw Pyra then called attention to another kind of danger--that which results from official prices on farm products and contract prices on all kinds of means of production and services.

Jan Dusza, assistant manager of "Ustka" Shipyards, after stating that the shipyard, which until recently was in danger of bankruptcy, now has a sufficient number of orders, mostly for export, concentrated his speech on comments relating to the system of reform. In his opinion, enterprises which must repay investment credits carried over from the previous period should be given tax relief. Similarly, preferences should be given to housing construction carried out by workplaces.

Eugeniusz Szkop, a physician, remarked that during the discussion which took place on the tasks of the party organization and echelons, the secretaries of the party organizations did not take the floor. It is high time, he said, that the party organizations stand in opposition to the unrestrained greed and pursuit of profits which threaten the essence and reason of the economic reform being applied. The object of reform is the worker, and if he does not accept it, and especially the party members in the workplaces, then reform will not succeed.

Ryszard Hutterski, assistant manager of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Department, also took part in the discussion. He said that the reason problems relating to the economy are so frequently dealt with by the party is that these problems are primary: the economy is now the most important plane of political struggle. The rebuilding of society's confidence in the party depends on economic results, and the hopes for an improvement in the standard of living are linked to the favorable results of the implementation of reform.

At the present stage we should strive to improve the principles of reform and the functioning of the economy according to new principles, but we should also hold the people and groups responsible for the tasks assigned to them, and name those who have not done their jobs. We should also bring reform into every work position, since it must take place primarily in the factory. The further process of transformation must proceed more rapidly, because despite signs of general improvement, the country's economic situation continues to be very complex and difficult.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Mieczyslaw Wojcik, KW first secretary, took the floor and addressed himself to certain utterances in the context of the tasks and responsibility of the management cadre of industry, construction and agriculture in the improvement of management efficiency and the application of economic reform. The KW first secretary also defined the tasks of the aktiv and party organization in applying reform, in counteracting the negative social aspects arising from a distorted understanding of the principles of reform, and in the activities to develop workers' self-governments.

The Voivodship Committee passed a resolution which, in view of the still unsatisfactory results in the voivodship's economy, requires the party organizations to develop multi-directional activities to implement the PZPR's economic and social policy.

#### Assessment of Reports Campaign

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 23 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by (wir)]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting of the KW executive board, which was conducted by Mieczyslaw Wojcik, PZPR KW first secretary, was devoted to a preliminary evaluation of the reports campaign now taking place in the voivodship party organization.

Comrade Borys Drobko, chief of the Political and Organizational Branch, in discussing the reports campaign, stated that during the period from 26 November of last year to 21 December of this year, conferences were held in 35 of the 37 local echelons. The city-committee plenum was held in Ustko, and in Slupsk the city conference will be held early next year [1983].

The reports conferences were preceded by preparations aimed at putting internal matters in order and also at implementing previously submitted motions. Both the preparations, the proceedings, and the attendance at the conferences differed widely. However, the poor representation of delegates from the rural communities stood out.

The discussion at the conferences also varied, both from the standpoint of the number of people taking the floor as well as the problems presented.

Socioeconomic problems dominated, and particularly matters relating to work and management under economic reform, the implementation of obligations toward agriculture on the part of institutions and enterprises working with agriculture and servicing or supplying the countryside. Attention was called to the need to renew the campaign of social action in the villages, pointing to the tasks resulting from the comprehensive inspection of the Slupsk voivodship conducted by the Armed Forces Inspectorate. Many statements were also made on the subject of youth, indicating that in specific communities the activity of the ZSMP was criticized.

As the reports campaign proceeds, certain observations, conclusions and comments develop which must be specified in detail at the voivodship conference, but the tasks ensuing from them must already be undertaken in the party work. They should further consolidate the party in the Slupsk voivodship, and improve party discipline and the consistent implementation of motions and resolutions. The system of control and implementation of motions and resolutions must be improved, it was emphasized at the meeting of the executive board.

The information on the achievements of the region must be expanded and supplemented, and the activity of KW members, in their work surroundings also, must be increased.

The Człuchow KW executive board, in approving the preliminary evaluation of the proceeding of the reports campaign, called attention to problems which the party organizations with a small number of members must contend with. It was stated that they need effective help from the echelon members and the workers in the party apparatus.

The executive board members also familiarized themselves with the draft materials prepared for the voivodship reports conference.

#### Plenum on Reports Conference

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 11 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by (pak)]

[Text] Yesterday in Slupsk a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) was held. The meeting was conducted by Mieczysław Wojcik, KW first secretary. The main subject of the plenary meeting was the acceptance of materials for the Voivodship Reports Conference and fixing the date of the conference.

Several days before the plenum, the members of the PZPR voivodship echelon received drafts of the substantive materials which the voivodship echelon will submit to the conference, that is: a report of the PZPR Voivodship Committee activities for the period after 17 June 1981, i.e., from the Voivodship Programmatic-Electoral Conference, and the main directions of the voivodship echelon's work in 1983 ensuing from the implementation thus far of the PZPR Ninth Congress Resolution and the Voivodship Programmatic-Electoral Conference.

As the first item on the agenda, KW secretary Tadeusz Jarecki presented a report on the voivodship's reports campaign concluded in the Primary Party Organization and in the local echelons. The campaign began in October of last year. Actually, its preparation, the KW secretary said, made it possible to make a good evaluation of results to date of the party's political work, extract all of the positives in the intraparty work, and perceive and examine the weaknesses which still exist.

As a result of the campaign, discipline improved in the party's daily activities, and during the discussions and talks, the unreliable people left the party ranks. The political atmosphere improved, influenced by the honest implementation of demands and proposals submitted previously in meetings and conferences. In some areas of previously affirmed programs, the political situation brought about revisions, because party work differed in its substance and form before 13 December 1982 and after declaration of martial law.

At present the voivodship party organization has a membership of over 30,000 members and candidates. Since June 1981, 682 people were dropped from the party ranks.



For the Voivodship Programmic-Electoral Conference, 236 delegates were chosen, but of these, 22 delegate-mandates became invalid as of 4 January 1983. In one cases, a mandate was withdrawn at the request of the Primary Party Organization, seven were dropped or expelled from the party, four transferred to another area, and four were removed from the echelon. At present, there are 214 delegates with valid mandates for the voivodship reports conference.

At the conclusion of his speech, KW secretary Tadeusz Jarecki proposed a text for a PZPR KW resolution in Slupsk, convening the Voivodship Reports Conference for 3 February 1983.

Next, Mieczyslaw Wojcik, KW first secretary, acquainted the KW members with the broad points of the program reports which will be delivered at the conference in the name of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

After listening to these speeches, the KW members unanimously passed a draft resolution on calling the conference for 3 February 1983 and accepted without comment the reports material presented to the plenum and the draft program.

In matters pertaining to organization, the KW plenum passed a resolution striking the following members from the voivodship echelon, who had been punished by the party at the decision of the Voivodship Party Control Commission: Stanislaw Graczyk, Jan Kursicki, and Henryk Koperkiewicz.

At the conclusion of the plenary meeting, the Voivodship Committee confirmed candidates to the program editorial boards in the Slupsk weekly ZBLIZENIA and the editorial offices of GLOS POMORZA.

#### Discussions about Reports Conference

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 11 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by W. Trzcinska]

[Text] Until January of this year, Teresa Dobrowolska worked in the Lebork scutching plant. For several days now she has been retired but she does not intend, because of this, to either transfer to a local organization or lessen her involvement in party work. Her mandate as a delegate to the PZPR voivodship conference continues to be valid:

--I am not yet familiar with the reports materials, but from the proposals submitted for the reports-electoral conference I feel that many have been implemented. Primarily those that concerned specific, measurable matters. But not that alone. Also in party work, a great deal has changed for the better, although not everything. For example, as recently as several days ago I was able to get excused from work to attend the local reports conference only after great difficulty, because no replacement could be found for me in the plant. And I cannot understand that. I cannot understand how something like that can happen. For if my girl-friend says to me, I will not substitute for you because I will not substitute for a party member, that I can still understand. She simply does not want to realize that at this conference and at other party conferences, matters concerning her work and her living conditions are discussed. She does not want to understand because we have all gone

through a difficult, very difficult, period. But why should we, members of the party, often make our work difficult? Why, in the plant, is it so that only now, as a retiree, I can say anything I am thinking without fear of consequences?

--Why do the young remain silent at meetings? I know why they do not speak. Because if they criticize, justly or unjustly, they can forget about a bonus for the next three months. I know that that is so for it happened to me more than once. And so it is no wonder that at many meetings people still remain silent or speak guardedly. Because there is no such thing as the Primary Party Organization defending its member if he is right. In my opinion, a party member in the party organization should also have support from the outside, but that does not always happen. And that is what we must change in the party.

--There is still another side to the coin. There were people in the party who went into it because they expected to gain something. They were the first to become disillusioned when the party's position faltered. And they were the first to leave the party. And that is good, because we do not need any such "communists". I believe that not all of those who are a drag on the party have left yet. I can say this outright because I have worked all my life, and tried to be an example to others, and now what do I have out of this--retirement. And I am satisfied. Because I didn't belong to the PZPR for such a long time in order to profit. And everything that I now have comes from my own work...

--What should we take care of in the immediate future? First of all, we should deal with the matters of the young people. Those who are beginning their professional life, who are just beginning to establish themselves. We should ensure them the indispensable minimum. Not color televisions or automatic washing machines, but that they should be able to live and work like people. And above all, wage matters should be regulated. So that one is paid actually for work that is done, and not because he is a friend of the manager, or the friend of a friend... What I am talking about is called justice, and not everywhere is this justice what it should be. And that is what we, party members, should contend with. And as quickly as possible. Only then can we believe that we will be able to get out of this crisis of ours.

[Article by Mira Zoltak]

[Text] Mirosław Zawada, first secretary of the Primary Party Organization in the Voivodship Hospital Transportation Unit in Koszalin:

In our small, for it has only 28 members, party organization we can already talk about certain real changes for the better. One of the proposals made by our comrades has been implemented: that the secretary take part in the "presentations", in the awarding of bonuses, prizes, and also in filling management positions. These consultations with us, consideration of our opinions, I count as achievements of the party organizations.

The time when we have accepted candidates according to quotas, and to add to that, by assignment, has ended. Conditions themselves have corrected this improper practice. We were held accountable for the quantity and not the quality of candidates, which, as we know, brought deplorable results. At one time there were more of us, but as for attendance, that is better left unspoken. Now we are trying to talk

not only with our members, but also with the nonparty people. Today almost everyone comes to the meetings, and there are no problems with payment of dues. But our comrades are demanding that further improvements in intraparty discipline be made. For example: everyone must publicly justify his absence at a meeting.

Comrade M. Zawada recalls a recent reports meeting. --The matter of a youth organization came up. Half of the workforce is young, and the ZSMP exists on paper. Until August the organization had the right to recommend young people for the party. Then everything began to come down at once. The young were not able to cope with the pressure of events.. We believe that the party backing in the plant is primarily the ZSMP. What to do? Nothing by force, obviously. A meeting was held, a few of the young people came, they wanted to discuss, and they are discussing to this very day. We are waiting for help from the ZSMP Main Board, and we ourselves are trying to convince, to explain, to present arguments. In this context we should mention party training. That it be regularly conducted constitutes the implementation of the next proposal. We have two lecturers of our own, who each month present subjects at the meeting which are interesting to the comrades. Frequently there is a very lively discussion. We have returned to our former practice--the result of a motion passed at a reports meeting. And once a month the managers of the respective departments report at the party meeting on their activities.

Comrade Mirosław Zawada conjectures as follows: We have already gone through the period that was most difficult for the party. The comrades with long experience have dealt with it relatively well. The young people continue to be at a loss and it is our task to assist them back on the road. I have promised myself that I will talk with people more frequently than I have thus far, employing argumentation.

During the last six months in the voivodship organization a great deal has changed, both in atmosphere and style of work. The composition of the Voivodship Committee has changed almost 100 percent, but it worked hard for much of the criticism was heaped on it. Now there is less fiction, less make-believe work. People are being promised less, and that is how it should be. The difficulties must be described truthfully and there must be conviction that only with work can these difficulties be overcome. There is still a great deal to be done.

#### Party Membership and Structure

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by (wir)]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting of the PZPR KW executive board in Slupsk, which was conducted by KW secretary Mirosław Kondrat, information on changes in the numbers and class-strata structure of the voivodship party organization in 1982 were discussed.

The voivodship party organization now has over 30,000 party members and candidates. During martial law, membership dropped by 3,646. The changes in numbers are primarily the result of the still ongoing process of purging the party ranks and putting the organization in order.

During the period discussed the process of rebuilding the party membership was begun. This process is gradually intensifying. Last year, 143 comrades were taken into the party.

Next, proposals pertaining to the system of applying visual propaganda in the voivodship were discussed. It was determined that the studies recently conducted on this subject, the surveys and polls, showed that the general state of visual propaganda in Slupsk is very bad. Only Człuchow, Bytow and the Konarzyny gmina are a proud exception here, where both the appearance as well as the current, socially accepted texts of visual propaganda were found to be good. The weaknesses, or actual neglect of visual propaganda were also pointed out by the Armed Forces Inspectorate, which in November of last year made a comprehensive inspection of the Slupsk voivodship. The KW executive board members, in discussing this subject, indicated that there was an urgent need to see to this matter as one of the main tasks ensuing from the program to improve law and order and esthetics in the Slupsk voivodship, accepted at the December session of the Voivodship People's Council. This work should be begun immediately and not wait until spring when the cleanup work normally begins. Tasks ensuing from both the program in improvement of order and esthetics, as well as from yesterday's decisions of the Executive Board, should be begun immediately, making appropriate use of the conditions and funds for this purpose.

The executive board members heard the report of the PZPR first secretary in the Voivodship Office, Jan Drazkiewicz, on the implementation of tasks in party work, ensuing from motions and instructions of the Armed Forces Inspectorate. The executive board recommended that the party organizations examine and assess measures to eliminate the improprieties pointed out in Slupsk by the Armed Forces Inspectorate.

During the meeting, the courses of action for the voivodship and local party organizations for the forthcoming period were indicated. In compliance with the recommendations of the PZPR Central Committee, it was emphasized, particular attention should be given to continuing the process of strengthening the ideological, organizational and political unity of the party organizations, and strengthening the ties between the party members, working class, and society. It is also important to support the state and economic administration in resolving social problems. Activity aimed at development of social initiatives, the union and self-government movement and elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) should be expanded.

#### Secretary Tadeusz Jarecki's Proposals

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Jarecki, PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) secretary in Slupsk, by editor Wacław Nowak; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Wacław Nowak: The local reports conferences of the party echelons have ended. On 3 February 1983 the Voivodship Reports Conference will be held in Slupsk. Comrade secretary, how do you assess the course of this political and organizational campaign, so extremely important to the party?

[Answer] Tadeusz Jarecki: Generally speaking, like this: the reports campaign in the Slupsk party organization has helped in greatly strengthening the party and its political, organizational, and ideological cohesiveness. When we evaluate this important stage of party work, we must remember that as a party we are accounting for a very difficult, socially, politically and economically complicated period. In 1981 and 1982 we went through some very hard tests. Many did not withstand the pressure of enemy propaganda and left the party. Others, those who found themselves in it by chance, were deprived of membership by the party organization or by the party control commission.

The reports meetings in the Primary Party Organization and the conferences of the local party echelons, and the relevant discussions that took place therein, showed that the party is effectively implementing its tasks and its resolutions, so important to the residents of our region. In the Slupsk voivodship, 37 reports conferences were held in local party echelons. I was present at many of them, I listened to the discussions and the behind-the-scenes talks. These were truly management discussions. Critical, still indicating concern about one's own plant, village, gmina, or specific community. And as we know, there are still a very large number of nerve-racking matters waiting to be settled. Thus every voice, every practical action aimed at alleviating the difficulties, is socially desirable. Of course, there is still a lot of weakness in party work also, shortcomings--as pointed out in the reports conferences and meetings. We have drawn conclusions from this criticism, and many matters brought up at the meetings and conferences will be examined and assessed at the forthcoming Voivodship Conference.

[Question] Before the reports campaign began, much was being said about the need to make an accounting of the motions and resolutions passed before and after the Ninth Congress. These motions--as we see it--should in the Primary Party Organization have a specific form, a working dimension, and should be reduced to tasks allocated to specific party members. Did the reports campaign in the Slupsk voivodship party organization give some kind of concrete reply to these questions, which are so important to the credibility of the party and its members?

[Answer] Probably for the first time in the history of our party has there been such a rigorous accounting of the resolutions and motions passed at the reports-electoral conferences in the spring of 1981, and also of those which were submitted during the term of the present leadership. I said at the beginning that we are making an accounting now of a very difficult period in the life of the country, the voivodship, and particular socio-occupational communities, including also in the life of the party. A kind of "self-examination" of the obligations assumed was needed. I can say that methods and ways of settling the proposals submitted and the resolutions passed were developed. That in most of the party organizations, party members are being assigned specific tasks resulting from the substance of the motions and resolutions passed by the Primary Party Organization. That these comrades are scrupulously being held accountable for these tasks. This is, in comparison with the situation of two years ago, an important step forward. At the same time, I must say that some party organizations and also local party organizations, cannot always enforce the implementation of justified proposals, submitted in the interests of the workforces, by the plant administration. Others, in turn, and we spoke about this, for example, at conferences in Slupsk, Leborg and Debnica

Kaszubska, show a lack of initiative in these socially grave matters. We have not been able to take care of all of the matters; we know, that in the climate of 1981 there was much pressure on the Primary Party Organization and party echelons, hence, also, some proposals submitted at that time were simply unrealistic in our economic situation. No one then tried to contradict, no one explained to the people, made them aware, that this or that cannot be done. I wish to add that at the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference we will make a full accounting of the implementation of the resolutions and motions, and that the delegates will receive a special report in this matter.

[Question] During the campaign before the Ninth Congress, there was a great deal of discussion on the subject of intraparty democracy, which, in any case, was reflected in the new PZPR Statute. Did the party members in the Slupsk voivodship during the course of the reports meetings and conferences take advantage of the rights contained in the Statute--I refer here primarily to criticism of negative aspects, including also of the party?

[Answer] Yes, although not everywhere. I already mentioned that most of those taking part in the discussion at the conferences and meetings spoke critically, frankly and openly about the weaknesses that appeared in the work of specific party elements, and in the activities of the PZPR members and activists. The discussions at the present conferences, as distinct from the reports-electoral conferences in 1981, took place in an atmosphere of calm and responsibility. The guiding thought of many of the utterances was a search for a reply to a question: what to do, and how to do it, in order to improve, to eliminate the inadequacies that appear, the weaknesses. Much attention was given, for example, to the results of the Armed Forces Inspectorate in the Slupsk voivodship. Consideration was given to the sources of the neglect and shortcomings, on ways that they could be eliminated from the social and economic life of specific workplaces, villages and gminas. Many interesting proposals were advanced, opinions were formulated, and tasks outlined, which was mirrored in the resolutions that were passed, or the programs of action.

--And so this was a relevant discussion. There was criticism, but it was constructive criticism more than fault-finding. And that is good, because it attests to the changes that were and are being made in the attitudes of the members, in their way of thinking and acting. These are not the same comrades as two years ago, despite the fact that they may be the same people.

[Question] One more problem still interests me. The reports campaign, according to its assumptions, was supposed to be a further step in the direction of party political and ideological consolidation, in increasing the activeness of each PZPR member. Were these goals, during the course of the reports campaign in the Slupsk voivodship, achieved to any degree? If so, than in what is this reflected in a practical way?

[Answer] This is an extremely important problem. Over 5,000 members left the party--for different reasons, obviously--in the Slupsk voivodship; less than the national average. This was a process of purging the party of people who were unreliable and in the party by chance, although there were also cases--fortunately there were few of these--where members with long years of membership left, upright people who could not withstand the mental pressure, and were not able to find a place for themselves

in the new political situation. This process does not attest to the weakening of the party, but to its political, ideological and organizational consolidation. Are there measurable examples of this. Certainly, there are many: an increase in intraparty discipline, greater availability on the part of party members, in their commitment to the political struggle, in social activity, as for example, in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, in the organizing of trade unions, in workers' self-government work, social commissions, etc.

It is apparent from this that the party is developing and consolidating, that the reports campaign is a very important step on the road to its consolidation. Naturally, there is still a great deal of work ahead of us if we are to build a genuinely strong--and we need such a party very badly--Polish United Workers Party. I also think that during all of 1982--and this was particularly revealed during the course of the reports campaign--many party members realized that their work, the opinions expressed, and also their attitude in private life, contribute to the opinion held about the party as a whole. And still one more thought which emerges from the course of the reports campaign: I think that most members of the party, the primary organizations, the PZPR activists, fully realize that we are a party struggling for the implementation of socialist principles, and everyone who is a member of this party, or who is joining it, and worthy comrades are joining, takes upon himself voluntarily the obligation of confirming by deed and word the ideological choice that he has made. Martial law, and now its suspension, was and is practical proof of the maturity of the party and everyone of its members. The party's reports campaign has reinforced our belief that despite many difficulties and complications we are passing this test successfully.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bielsko-Bialo Province Plenum

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (k1): "Preparations for the Voivodship Party Conference"]

[Text] The 14 January meeting of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR in Bielsko-Bialo was devoted to confirming the materials for the Voivodship Party Conference, and the draft program for the activity of the Voivodship Party Organization.

Antoni Gorny, the head of the General Department of the Central Committee of the PZPR, participated in the proceedings, which were chaired by Andrzej Gdula, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR [KW PZPR] in Bielsko-Biala.

The secretary of the KW PZPR, Kazimierz Ledwon, presented the members of the plenum with the draft rules and agenda for the Voivodship Reports Conference, which will take place on 29 January in Bielsko-Bialo.

Joanna Brysz, a member of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Bielsko-Bialo, on behalf of the Executive Board, dealt with the report from the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR as it will be presented at the Voivodship Conference. In her statement and in the course of the discussion, it was emphasized that under martial law, the Voivodship Party Organization acted on the basis of a program derived from the Resolution of the last plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the PZPR. It aimed at further organizational consolidation of the party organizations in Podbeskidie.

At the same time, it was stated that recently, i.e. following the suspension of martial law, it has become necessary to have considerably more effective ideological-party and economic work in the region.

Also discussed was the need for greater activation of party members and the need for them to deal with the tasks set by the Department Party Organizations [OOP] and the Plant Committees [KZ], as well as by party groups.

The need was stressed for improving the activities of the party's Voivodship Committee and its executive organs, as well as the need for more cooperation



in developing a model for party work between the problem-oriented commissions and the party regions.

In organizational matters, changes in the composition of the plenum and the problem-oriented commissions were reported. The plan for the work of the KW PZPR's Executive Board for this quarter was also approved, along with the plan for the work of the KW PZPR plenum for this year.

#### ELBLAG BOARD ON RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYKI in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (b): "Construction Is Emerging From Impasse"]

[Text] During the first three quarters of last year, residential construction in the Elblag Voivodship remained in a deep impasse. None of the originally established deadlines were met, and thus a well-founded apprehension arose that in spite of various preventive measures, only a slight percentage of the 1982 plan would be carried out. It turned out differently, however, In November and December 1982, the builders turned over a large number of finished residences for use, thanks to which the situation has been radically improved.

Jozef Sowa, the deputy governor, informed the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] of this during its preceedings yesterday. He pointed out that in fact, the plan for delivered residences had not been fully carried out (97 percent), but there had been obvious progress, and from this point of view Elblag was near the top of the scale for the country as a whole. Last year, a total of 126,000 square meters of living space, in all forms of construction, was turned over for use; this is equivalent to a little over 2100 residences. The highest percentage is obviously composed of socialized multifamily construction for the nonagricultural population, in which the largest share is that of housing cooperatives, for which about 1200 residences were delivered. At the end of December the builders announced that--in their opinion--an additional five completed residential buildings were ready for delivery, but they were not delivered.

The planned tasks have been carried out in Elblag, Braniewa, Nowy Dwor Gd., Prabuty, Nowy Staw, and Pieniezna; on the other hand, the results aimed for have not been obtained in Sztutowa, Susz, and Tolmicek. They were worst in Kwidzyna, where scarcely 42.9 percent of the residences announced were turned over for use. Individual construction deserves attention, since in it about 33,000 square meters of living space were obtained, which is 23 percent of all the actual results.

The KW Executive Board devoted a particularly large amount of attention to the problem of residential construction. In evaluating the efforts of the voivodship administration, especially in the area of deliveries of raw and other materials and labor discipline, and the efforts of the builders themselves during the last few months of the year, attention was called to the fact that there are deficiencies, unfortunately still numerous, which are

making it more difficult to obtain the desired results. Among other things, the need was emphasized for maintaining a suitable labor rhythm throughout the entire period of construction, as well as the need for better utilization of the working time of people, machinery, and equipment, along with raw and other materials, and an increase in discipline and supervision. Attention was called to the need to reduce the cost of construction and to decrease it on a continuing basis, and to raise labor productivity and quality. An extremely important matter is the proper use of social initiatives, thanks to which it is possible to increase the scope of construction.

A great deal was said about the so-called over-plan sponsored construction, emphasizing that it cannot be carried out at the expense of the planned tasks. Also discussed was the need to develop plant construction and to intensify individual construction.

The preliminary targets of the 1983 plan call for the construction in the voivodship of about 2300 residences with a total surface area of about 139,000 square meters. The Executive Board adopted conclusions on this subject, referring, among other things, to the need to provide the means for equipping construction sites, increasing labor discipline, and intensifying the production of construction materials originating in the city. The need for facilities (among others, credit facilities) for individual investors was emphasized.

The Executive Board commented on the contents of the materials prepared for the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference, and discussed the guidelines for cadre policy.

#### Wloclawek Board on Land Reclamation

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (DK): "Progress in Land Reclamation; the State of Health of Children and Youth"]

[Text] For the second time in the last six months, the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Wroclawek has taken up the subject of land reclamation investments. It was evaluated in terms of the activity of the Regional Land Reclamation Enterprise, which is presently the principal executor of this type of work in the voivodship, and beginning with next year, the only one. The members of the Executive Board also dealt yesterday with the implementation of the decisions adopted six months ago with respect to the enterprise, the investors, and the administrative authorities of the voivodship.

It was stated that lately rapid progress has been achieved in land reclamation. In contrast to the previous assessment, it should be emphasized that the enterprise has a clear concept of how to overcome the difficulties characteristic of the country as a whole, and the typically local difficulties. The funds allocated have been used effectively for the

purchase of equipment, and repairs on old machinery have been carried out in their own right. There are good prospects for surmounting personnel difficulties; among other things, preparations are continuing for the creation of a Volunteer Labor Brigades [OHP] detachment and a specialist class in one of the professional schools.

Summing up this part of the proceedings, Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the KW PZPR, emphasized that the results of RPM [expansion unknown] and the implementation of land reclamation tasks in Poland should be evaluated positively. In relation to the needs of the region, however, this is too little for us to be satisfied with the present state of affairs. This year the enterprise is, however, starting in a position that is more advantageous than in previous years. Among other things, this has to do with the labor front, personnel, equipment, and supply. This fact should oblige the land reclaimers to raise their sights, especially in setting their actual tasks.

On the second item in its proceedings, the Executive Board evaluated the state of health of children and young people, and the pathological threats occurring in this milieu. It was stated that in spite of the activities undertaken thus far by the health service and the council, the situation is still unsatisfactory. The high infant death rate, the still too scanty personnel base and institutional network, school hygiene, and the increasingly more disturbing phenomenon of drug addiction among young people, were cited as the most pressing problems. In formulating its conclusions, the Executive Board recommended, among other things, giving more attention to preventive activities, making more efficient use of the resources allocated, and improving the entire sphere of the organization of labor, in which too much still remains to be done.

#### Wloclawek Board on Task Implementation

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 22-23 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (mat): "Implementation of the Socioeconomic Tasks"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Wloclawek met under the chairmanship of Wojciech Ledwochowski, secretary of the KW. During the meeting, the Executive Board evaluated the implementation of last year's socioeconomic tasks in Wloclawek. The KW Executive Board stated that 1982 brought a gradual stabilization of sociopolitical life in the voivodship. Advantageous results were achieved, especially in December, since the sale of industrial production was 7.9 percent higher and labor productivity was 11.4 percent higher than in the analogous period of 1981.

The results obtained by the food industry deserve emphasis. Thus, for example, the Kujawski Food Concentrates Plants sold 6 percent more than in 1981, the Kujawski Plants of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry sold 9 percent more, and the Voivodship Milk Cooperative sold 8 percent more. It was stated during the Executive Board meeting that the source of these positive

occurrences, among other things, was the improved functioning of coproduction, the good results in local agriculture, and the improved atmosphere in labor establishments.

An apparent stabilization has also been achieved in the food articles market. On the other hand, social needs for industrial products have only been met to a slight extent, and it was also not possible last year to surmount the crisis in residential construction.

The members of the Executive Board stated that the predictions for 1983 are nevertheless marked by a moderate optimism. It appears from the production and sales plans drawn up by the enterprises of the Wloclawek voivodship that most of them are expecting a growth in real results in comparison with 1982. For example, the Ursus enterprise anticipates a 15 percent increase in sales, the Drumet Cable and Wire Factory a 22 percent increase, and the Budkrusz Mechanical Construction Repair Works of the Mineral, Raw Materials and Aggregate Industry, in Aleksandrow, an 11 percent increase. The prerequisites for surmounting the socioeconomic crisis thus exists.

The KW Executive Board also dealt with the problem of construction investments in agriculture. It was felt that the units subordinate to the Voivodship Office had carried out last year's tasks at a satisfactory level. The implementation of single-family village construction appeared to be worse.

The Executive Board recommended concentrating this year on completion of the investments already begun, and increasing the emphasis on modernization and repairs. The distribution of construction materials must also take place on the basis of equitable and precise principles.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, the KW Executive Board adopted a decision on convening a plenary session of the PZPR's KW in Wloclawek on 29 January. The subject of the session will be the problem of the letters, complaints, and signals received by all PZPR bodies, and the adoption of materials for the voivodship reports and program conference.

9909

CSO: 2600/365

OBIEDZINSKI SPEAKS AT SOVIET ARMY CELEBRATION

AU281240 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Feb 83 p 3

[Speech by Gen of Arms Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, undersecretary of state for national defense and Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army, at a ceremonial concert to mark the 65th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces, on 22 February in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Esteemed assembled! We have gathered here today at a ceremonial concert to honor the 65th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and to pay homage to all generations of its heroic soldiers. We have both historic and contemporary reasons for doing so. It is from their deeds and achievements that the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union has been born, as well as the brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army which enables us today clamly to put our own house in order and strengthen Poland's position in the family of socialist countries.

On behalf of everyone gathered here, I wish warmly and sincerely to welcome the representatives of our country's highest political and state authorities who have come to today's concert, and Comrade Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

I sincerely welcome and greet our dear guests, the representatives of the Soviet Army, which is linked to us by inseparable ties of friendship and brotherhood-in-arms.

I warmly welcome all the veterans of the battles for our fatherland's freedom and independence who have come to today's ceremony, including Marshal of Poland Michal Rola-Zymierski.

I sincerely welcome the representatives of the diplomatic corps of the socialist countries.

I welcome the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and Security Service--faithful defenders of the socialist achievements of people working in cities and rural areas.

I welcome workers from the chief factories, representatives of political-social organizations, representatives from the world of science and culture, employees from state and cooperative institutions, delegations from youth

circles and delegations of inhabitants of our heroic capital Warsaw, all of whom have come to this ceremony.

We Poles have special reason to celebrate the anniversary of the Soviet Army, for its ranks have been well filled with Polish revolutionaries, workers and peasants who supported the Russian proletariat in its historic, revolutionary battle. Polish revolutionaries actively joined in the work of the young party and state apparatus and joined in the task of leadership by means of revolutionary armed forces. Among these we come across the following eminent sons of the Polish nation: Feliks Dzierzynski, Julian Marchlewski, Feliks Kon, Bronislaw Wesolowski, Stanislaw Bobinski, Julian Leszczynski, Romuald Muklewicz, Roman Lagwa, Konstanty Rokossowski, Karol Swierczewski, Wladyslaw Korczyc and many others.

A reason for particular satisfaction is that besides the names I have mentioned, a force of Polish patriots and internationalists numbering over 100,000 people fought on the front lines of the civil war.

At the time of the great trial, on the paths of the great wartime offensives, the new shape of Polish-Soviet relations was born. The first units of the Polish People's Army were created on USSR territory in 1943 and the baptism of fire of the first Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division at Lenino turned a new page in Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms.

We are proud of the fact that it was our task during the great national war to fight at the side of the Soviet Army against German fascism. We did not arrive too late to witness the historic moment which settled the fate of the Polish nation and the future of our country; the victorious Battle of Berlin, which was finished by Polish soldiers fighting side by side with their Soviet comrades-in-arms. In this way, Polish soldiers were the joint creators of the evolutionary history of their nation.

The great sacrifice of the 600,000 heroic army soldiers whose remains rest on our soil will forever remain in the grateful memory of the Polish nation. For this was the price of freedom and life which the heroic Soviet Army paid in its historic mission.

The victory over Hitlerism meant for Poland a return to the frontiers marked by the Oder and Neisse rivers and by the Baltic which existed at the time of the Piast dynasty. It meant that it was possible for workers and peasants to assume authority and to venture and to the road of building a new system of social justice--socialism. It also meant that a historic reorientation of our international alliances took place. The friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union born out of the years of war have become a foundation of our national security. They guarantee the permanence of our borders, our sovereignty and comprehensive development.

With a feeling of the highest responsibility for the fortunes of the country and nation, the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic have put up an effective dam against counterrevolution. They were accompanied during these

difficult days by the knowledge that we have the moral support of the entire socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, and that we can put our house in order with a feeling of internal security since the entire power of the Warsaw Pact and its united armed forces are standing guard on our borders.

On Soviet Army Day, on its 65th anniversary, we pay homage to its famous combat traditions and its contemporary peaceful achievements. We salute the soldiers and instructors of the Soviet Armed Forces, the organizers of their defense potential and training work and the creators of modern technology and military science. We address our sincerest military greetings to them.

Long live the powerful Soviet Army, incontestable defense shield of peace and socialism, and may it constantly strengthen!

Long live the fraternal joint activity of the soldiers of the Polish People's Army with those of the Soviet Armed Forces for the sake of the peace and security of our states and nations, and may this joint activity deepen!

May the friendship and cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR live long and blossom!

CSO: 2600/469

MILEWSKI ADDRESSES PZPR FRONTIER GUARDS CONFERENCE

AU231706 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Col Waldemar Makowiecki report on the PZPR Reports Conference of the Frontier Guards]

[Excerpts] The report given at the reports conference of the Frontier Guards' PZPR Committee on 17 February in Warsaw greatly stressed that the last 20 months made up of one of the most difficult periods in the history of our party and of the socialist state. It was a time when people's attitudes, their earnestness and devotion to the service of the country were fervently manifest. The communists of the Frontier Guards passed this test--which demanded much ideological endurance, courage and constancy in the struggle with the political opponent in defense of the socialist revival--with honor.

Gen Div Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee secretary, took part in the conference.

Others taking part in the discussions were Gen Div Czesław Stopiński, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee and Frontier Guard commander, and Gen Bde Lucjan Czubinski, director general of the City Military Headquarters. Col Leon Pastuszyński, representative of the Main Political Directorate of the Frontier Guards, was also present.

Col Zbigniew Kulinski, secretary of the Frontier Guards' PZPR Committee, stated in his opening address that he was glad to say that the results of the party's work during the reports period are exceptionally favorable. The majority of the proposed aims had been achieved, and the tasks adopted in the resolution of the reports electoral conference had been implemented. Their achievement is all the more important considering the difficult and complicated situation in which it became necessary to act, a situation characterized by an intense political struggle and by the numerous attempts to dismantle the socialist state, attempts which were inspired by hostile internal forces and anticommunist world centers.

Col Kazimierz Garbowski, chairman of the Frontier Guard Party Control Commission, stated that this period was the hardest test for the ideological attitudes of party members and all the soldiers of the Frontier Guards, for their moral and political cohesion, their mental stamina and their discipline.



These communists in green passed their soldierly and civic test during these difficult days and months with dedication. The conditions they had to act in were exceptionally complex. The period preceding the imposition of martial law saw a considerable increase in the threat to the frontier, an increase in criminal offenses and a drop in the help and cooperation received from the population of the frontier. However, a growth in discipline while performing service duties was at the same time observed in the face of the growing intensity of the situation.

After 13 December 1981, the Frontier Guard concentrated its main efforts on the consolidation of frontier defense and the defense of specific buildings, on conducting preventive activities in areas adjoining the frontier, as well as on supporting peacekeeping forces in special situations. The soldiers of the Frontier Guard made a significant contribution to preventive activities and enforced order, as well as to blocking and defensive activities, which they performed together with functionaries of the Citizens' Militia, the security services and the Motorized Citizens' Militia Reserve [ZOMO].

What is more, the military cadres took part in direct ideological and political work with the inhabitants of the frontier, concentrating their main efforts on school children and the teaching staff.

Referring to the revisionist statement made by the FRG's Friedrich Zimmermann, minister of internal affairs, about the lands to the east of the Oder and the Neisse, as well as to the threatening letters being received by various institutions and private individuals, Roman Ratajczak stated that the soldiers of the Frontier Guard cannot be indifferent to these matters since their daily self-sacrificing and committed service is evidence of their ties with these lands. It was at the same time advocated that the ventures undertaken should be directed in a way which would prevent anyone from daring to doubt that these lands are Polish.

It was pointed out that, aside from performing their fundamental tasks of defending the frontier, the Frontier Guards also performed special additional tasks which were a result of martial law. Characters were molded at this time, the people's attitudes were put to the test and the effectiveness of ideological and educational work was verified. The soldiers of the Frontier Guard were subject to all sorts of temptations and provocations from travelers coming from Western countries. At airports, at frontier points and in ports, attempts at illegal departure from the country were thwarted thanks to the guards' correct attitudes, which also contributed to the liquidation of a group of several criminals engaged in silver smuggling and in helping people leave Poland illegally.

Many speakers, including Wlodzimierz Klimowicz, Boguslaw Kolsut, Jozef Ostrowski and Longin Wasilewicz, indicated the tasks which face party cells and organizations in the sphere of opposing violations of party and service discipline, violations of ethical norms, the weakening of standards, the prevention of alcoholism, unusual incidents, exploiting one's position and service agreements for personal benefit, lack of concern for social and

standard of living conditions or the shaping of proper interhuman relations.

Mirosław Milewski highly praised the Frontier Guards' party activity and, stressing that it was well aimed at implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Party Congress, he noted that emphasis had rightly been put on ideological and political activities as well as on the struggle against the opponent of socialism.

The party's strength is determined by the activities of its primary organizations and it is therefore necessary to maintain and develop these activities, he said.

Our party takes on a special role in the process of overcoming the crisis and normalizing life. The party is the key to national rebirth, and the reports campaign also confirms this. The party is gathering strength and vigor in order to assume the political leadership according to the Leninist formula, a function which is a leading one as well as one of service to the people.

Speaking of the tasks of party members, M. Milewski stated that we are the same party but no longer in the same way. The consistent implementation of the resolution adopted at the Ninth PZPR Party Congress and the program of socialist renewal is nothing other than a return to Leninist attitudes and life's norms.

It is exactly now, as never before, he said, that the highest measure of party integrity is taking the leading role at work. We are performing our duties in an exemplary way in every sphere of activity at the same time as showing courage and resolution in combating all manifestations of evil, infringements of the law, social injustice as well as denouncing the activities of hostile forces as a matter of principle. The party cells and organizations of the Frontier Guard must also play an important role in this work.

Gen Div Mirosław Milewski, on behalf of the PZPR Politburo, the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, conveyed words of thanks and esteem to the participants of the conference and through them to all party members and candidate members as well as to all Frontier Guards, for all they have done for the armed forces, for the country and society in defense of the Polish frontiers.

CSO: 2600/445

HUNGER STRIKER'S CONDITION CALLED 'GOOD'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Feb 83 p 2

[PAP article: "The Truth About E. Baluka's State of Health]

[Text] Edmund Baluka has been kept in pre-trial detention on Szczecin. The Pomeranian Military District Prosecutor in Bydgoszcz ordered his arrest on charges of a serious crime against the Polish State.

In connection with a Western campaign including claims regarding Baluka's alleged emaciation, a PAP reporter asked a doctor from the Szczecin prison hospital about Baluka's true condition.

The doctor said Baluka is in good health. He has been kept in a cell of appropriate size, which is clean, well lit, heated and equipped with a radio. The cell also has running water and a toilet. As a person arrested pending trial, he has use of the prison library and regular access to newspapers; he can go see a doctor at any time. The Szczecin prison has an adequately equipped hospital and its medical staff can consult specialists from the Pomeranian Medical Academy if necessary.

Baluka's good condition is confirmed by his health record, which shows that he has not reported any ailments to the [prison] doctor recently. However, in January he proclaimed a hunger strike in the presence of a prison officer. To prevent possible ailments, the prison administration resolved, after consulting doctors, to administer highly caloric nourishment, used in similar cases, to Baluka, who takes the food unaided. He has gained 5 kg since receiving this food. His blood cell count taken on 15 February does not indicate any irregularities.

Baluka is treated according to the rules in the Szczecin prison. During his stay there he has received 23 visits: 5 from his defense counsel and 18 from his daughter, who lives in Szczecin. Prior to his hunger strike, he received parcels and money. At present he has 3,000 zloty at his disposal, with which he can buy essentials in the prison canteen.

This is the true story about the "emaciated" Baluka.

CUSTOMS DIRECTORATE TRANSFERRED TO MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 13 Jan 83 pp 1-3

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the transfer of the General Directorate of Customs from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation to the Ministry of Finance]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. - On 1 January 1983, the General Directorate of Customs is transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation to the Ministry Finance, with the assets and liabilities established on the basis of the accounting review concluded on 31 December 1982.

Article 2. - The indicators in the 1983 sole national economic-social development plan and in the 1983 state budget for the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Ministry of Finance, dealing with the General Directorate of Customs, are modified according to Annex No 1 (this Annex will be forwarded to the interested institutions).

The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will include the items listed in Annex No 1 in the indicators of the sole national economic-social development plan for 1983, as well as in the volume and structure of the 1983 state budget.

Article 3. - The Customs Code of the Socialist Republic of Romania - Law No 30/1978, is modified and amended as followed:

1. Article 9 will have the following content:

"Article 9. - The Ministry of Finance is responsible for carrying out the party's and state's policy in the area of customs.

The carrying out of general measures regarding customs policy on the international level is done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

2. Article 65 will have the following content:

"Article 65. - The Ministry of Finance, in carrying out the party's and state's customs policy, has the following main attributes and responsibilities:

- a) analyzes the problems of overall customs activities and takes measures regarding the continuing improvement of these activities;
- b) ensures and reviews the application of legal provisions in the area of customs;
- c) collaborates with ministries and other interested central organs for the purpose of taking measures that will ensure the effective movement of goods in export and import activities;
- d) leads, guides and reviews the activities of the General Directorate of Customs and the customs units;
- e) organizes and pursues the keeping of customs statistics together with the Central Directorate of Statistics;
- f) draws up technical working norms regarding the application of customs regulations;
- g) carries out any other attribute established by law."

3. After Article 65, Article 65<sup>1</sup> is introduced with the following content:

"Article 65<sup>1</sup>. - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs ensures the carrying out of customs policy on the international level, to which end:

- a) it negotiates and concludes, under the conditions outlined by law, customs agreements and understandings with other countries and makes proposals for the Socialist Republic of Romania's adherence to multilateral conventions in order to obtain customs facilities that will ensure the access of Romanian goods to other markets;
- b) it ensures the promotion of the interests of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the area of customs within the framework of international economic organisms and at multinational meetings, as well as in relations with other countries;
- c) it works at customs control points abroad for the carrying out of loading, unloading, transport and transit operations for goods under good conditions involving the Socialist Republic of Romania, in accordance with conventions and contracts that have been concluded;
- d) it informs the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and other interested central organs regarding customs charges and customs laws in effect in other countries, as well as about the results of international meetings of a customs nature and the documents and resolutions that are adopted within them."

Article 4. - Law No 1/1971 regarding the Socialist Republic of Romania's activities in foreign trade and economic and technical-scientific cooperation, with later modifications, is modified and amended as follows:

1. Article 34, letter o) will have the following content:

"o) it ensures and reviews the application of laws, decrees and decisions of the Council of Ministers in the area of foreign economic trade."

2. Article 63 will have the following content:

"Article 63. - The Ministry of Finance carries out the customs policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The carrying out of general measures on the international level regarding customs policy is done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

3. After Article 63, Article 63<sup>1</sup> is introduced, with the following content:

"Article 63<sup>1</sup>. - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs ensures the carrying out of customs policy on the international level, to which end:

a) it negotiates and concludes, under the conditions outlined by law, customs agreements or understandings with other countries and makes proposals for the Socialist Republic of Romania's adherence to multilateral agreements for the purpose of obtaining customs facilities that will ensure the access of Romanian goods to other markets;

b) it ensures the promotion of the Socialist Republic of Romania's interests in customs affairs within the framework of international economic organisms, in multilateral meetings and in relationships with other countries;

c) it works at customs control points abroad for the carrying out of loading, unloading, transport and transit operations for goods under good conditions involving the Socialist Republic of Romania, in accordance with conventions and contracts that have been concluded;

d) it informs the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and other interested central organs regarding customs charges and customs laws in effect in other countries, as well as about the results of international meetings of a customs nature and the documents and resolutions that are adopted within them."

Article 5. - Decree No 784/1969 regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Finance, with later modifications, is modified as follows:

1. Article 2 will have the following content:

"Article 2. - The Ministry of Finance, in exercising its attributes, pursues providing the financial resources needed to fulfill the sole national plan, the maximum efficient use of material and monetary resources at the disposal of socialist organizations, the full achievement of the country's patrimonial rights and the carrying out of the customs policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as the maintenance of the integrity of socialist property."

2. Article 22 will have the following content:

"Article 22. - The Ministry of Finance has subordinate to it the General Directorate of Customs, the Computer Center of the Financial-Banking System and specialized publications."

Article 6. - Decree No 164/1979 regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and subsequent modifications, are modified as follows:

1. Article 3 is abrogated.

2. Article 26, paragraph 1 will have the following content:

"The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation has subordinate to it the Institute of World Economics, foreign trade enterprises and other socialist units as created according to law."

Article 7. - The customs regulation approved in Decree No 337/1981 is modified as follows:

1. Article 39 will have the following content:

"Article 39. - The export or import authorization can be replaced by a document through which the exporters, importers or their representatives forward, on their own responsibility, the data included in the authorization, according to the norms established by the Ministry of Finance together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. These data refer to the number and timeframe of the authorization, the types of goods, the end-user and the shipper."

2. Article 96, paragraph 2 will have the following content:

"The Customs Commission is headed by the minister of finance or one of his deputies and is composed of one representative from each of the following: the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and the State Price Committee. The representatives will be named by the leaderships of these organizations."

3. Article 241, paragraph 2 will have the following content:

"The list of goods that are considered to be perishable is approved by the Ministry of Finance together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation."

4. Annex No 5, point 4, paragraph 1 will have the following content:

The list of catalogues, surveys and other documents regarding foreign prices is approved by the Ministry of Finance together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation."

Article 8. - The name "Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation" and the title "minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation," shown in the normative documents in Annex No 2, as well as in legal provisions regarding customs activities, other than those listed in this decree, are replaced with the name "Ministry of Finance" and the title "minister of finance," respectively.

Article 9. - The maximum number of automobiles for those units subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation is reduced by one automobile, and one additional automobile is added to the maximum number for those units subordinate to the Ministry of Finance.

Annex No 1 to Decree No 277/1979 regarding some measures for rationalizing the use of fuels and the economical administration of motor pools, with subsequent modifications, is correspondingly modified.

Article 10. - Annexes Nos 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 11 January 1983  
No 8

#### Annex No 2

A. The name "Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation" is replaced with the name "Ministry of Finance" in:

a) Article 60 and 69 in the Customs Code of the Socialist Republic of Romania - Law No 30/1978;

b) Article 56, paragraph 2; Articles 63, 130, 215, 234, and 266; Annex No 7, point 1, letter c); point 7; point 8, paragraph 3 and point 17 in the Customs Regulation, approved in Decree No 337/1981;

c) Article 15 in Law No 73/1969 regarding the control of products and narcotic substances;

d) Annex No VI, letter C, line 9 in the Law on the Payment of Salary According to the Quantity and Quality of Work No 57/1974, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, Nos 59-60 of 23 July 1980, with subsequent modifications;

e) Article 40 in Decree No 210/1960 regarding the system of means of foreign currency, precious metals and precious stones, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 56 of 12 May 1972, with subsequent modifications;

f) Article 12, paragraph 2 in Decree No 588/1973 regarding the use of coins that do not contain native gold, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 195 of 8 December 1973;



g) Annex No 1, points 1 and 7 in Decree No 222/1976 regarding the completion of the standards for the structure and model organizational structures for "Foreign Trade Activity," listed in the annex to Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units, with subsequent modifications;

h) Article 6, 7, and 14, as well as Annex No 1, points 10, 12 and 30 letter e) in Decree No 400/1982 regarding the control of border crossings of the Romanian state.

B. The title "minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation" is replaced with the title "minister of finance" in:

a) Article 97, paragraph 1; Article 148, paragraph 3; Article 151, paragraph 1; Article 207, paragraph 2; Article 225; Annex No 1, point 2, paragraph 2; Annex No 2, point 3, point 21, paragraph 2 and point 43; and Annex No 5, point 7 in the Customs Regulation, approved in Decree No 337/1981;

b) Annex No 1 points 2 and 3 in Decree No 229/1976 regarding the completion of the standards for the structure and model organizational structures for "Foreign Trade Activity," listed in the annex to Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units, with subsequent modifications.

8724

CSO: 2700/118

## BRIEFS

OBITUARIES OF AVIATION, MEDICAL FIGURES--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 February 1983 page 4 reports the "sudden" death of Reserve Major General Grigore Bastan, a parachutist. The paper publishes condolences from the Territorial Anti-Aircraft Defense Command, the Department of Civil Aviation, and the enterprise for research and production of aircraft equipment. On 16 February, ROMANIA LIBERA publishes, on page 4, 16 obituaries and condolence telegrams in connection with the death, "in a tragic accident," of Gabriel Bacanu, a pilot and engineer and the son of Maria Flucsa, deputy minister of domestic trade. One of the condolence messages is from Bacanu's "colleagues in the Department of Technological Engineering in TAROM," the Romanian Air Transport Company. The same issue of ROMANIA LIBERA publishes 14 obituaries and condolence messages in connection with the death of Prof Dr Docent Panait Sirbu, head of the department of obstetrics and gynecology in the clinic of the Giulesti Hospital, member of the leadership council of the Union of Societies of Medical Sciences, vice president of the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics, member of the French Academy and vice president of the International Society of Gynecology. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/130

## JOSIP VRHOVEC VIEWS ROLE OF INFORMATION MEDIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 82 p 5

[Text] On Monday, the Presidency of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC discussed the work of LC basic organizations in the public information media in Zagreb, especially in light of the discussions that have been conducted in the last 3 months, at the initiative of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, in all of the LC basic organizations [OOSK] in the public media on the role played by communists in creating editorial policy, implementing and constructing self-management relations in those circles, the way in which social influence is exerted in the public information media, and other basic issues associated with information. One of the participants in the discussion of this subject was Josip Vrhovec, a member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC. Below we present the main highlights of his speech.

I do not think that it is necessary to repeat, Josip Vrhovec said at the beginning of his speech, how the public information media are basically following the right line, and how they are making a great contribution to freedom and democracy, because this is turning out to be a sort of complex of ours. If we discuss the problems that are occurring in the public information media at a given moment, we are not questioning their self-managing, socialist orientation. Probably this is because we feel that in discussing these problems we do not want to provoke any corrupt professional solidarity. Such solidarity is not desirable in social criticism, since the idea is that the communists in the public information media should say themselves what is bad in them and to what extent.

Nevertheless, Vrhovec felt, it appears that we do have such a corrupt solidarity in the public information media, with respect to what is happening in society; we have an almost incredible self-sufficiency, a feeling that these same information media have the right to criticize everything that comes under their scrutiny, while at the same time they themselves are excessively sensitive to social criticism. If we want a correct line, then these elements should be removed, and this means a differentiation through the removal of whatever is a distorted awareness. This means doing away with the model that is basically a Western liberal press. We have eliminated the concept of a controlled press, but we have not thereby opened the door to a bourgeois, liberal press, and we must state this openly to communist journalists. It is therefore important for this key task to be handled through the OOSKs.

## Openness Toward Society

This is not an appeal for journalism without mistakes, Vrhovec explained. We all make mistakes, and it would be hypocritical to ask the public information media not to make mistakes. The communists in the public information media, however, do too little to keep the public information media from being a force outside of society, for correcting the governmental system, for which some people want to use the abusive word "regime." Our society needs the public information media to the extent to which they are needed by the self-manager in order for him to achieve his basic interests, and they are not needed for anything else. Through this, we will then carry out the process of further democratization of our society, increase freedom, etc.

In order to achieve this, the public news media have to be equal to their tasks, identify them with professional ethics, and become more open toward society, but so far they have not done this. This does not mean that there are no communist journalists who have fought and are fighting for the line of the LC and the working class; it would be pitiful if we had not achieved this in the last few decades; but it is precisely for this reason that we should fight against divinely inspired arbitrators. This so-called bourgeois liberalism is a false melody that serves certain specific interests well. The only real interest of our society and public information media, however, is the interest of the working class. We must therefore finish what we have begun in the public information media, and in the places where conservatism has become firmly entrenched, we have to destroy it. There can be no more hesitation on this.

Responding to Zorica Stipetic's assertion that the press is the mirror of society, Vrhovec added that this can only be said conditionally, since the mirror is giving a twisted picture of our society. Speaking about criticism, he said that criticism is not being questioned, since that is an LC commitment, but that he is in favor of criticism that opens up prospects, and not criticism that puts society in the prisoner's dock.

## The Street Policy of Some Articles

Citing examples of such malicious criticism, Josip Vrhovec mentioned the coverage in the newspaper DANAS and some magazines which openly spread anti-Communism in apparently marginal and harmless columns such as the letters from readers. Thus, one letter in the weekly DANAS issues an open appeal for dogmatic socialism, under the slogan that we will all be equal in poverty. He also mentioned the example of an article on privileges which preaches an incendiary street policy, while at the same time these same journalists do not say anything about their own privileges.

It is very important, Vrhovec stressed, for us to be clear on the fact that there is no campaign going on against the news media, but that it is the responsibility and obligation of every communist to deal with problems that harm the efforts for the consolidation and stabilization of social and economic relations.

Presenting some fresh examples of ideological and political deviation, Vrhovec mentioned, among other things, an article in the latest issue of NIN, which presents information about how the Otokar Kersovani enterprise in Opatija published a book of allegedly literary essays by Dobrica Cosic, reportedly because these "literary" essays contained a great deal of politics. When an essay bears the title "Criticism of the Ruling Ideological Concept in National Policy," this means the policy of the LC. When an enterprise places such a political speech, which has already been criticized by the Central Committee of the Servian LC, in a book of literary essays, it is deceiving the public. If something like that goes through an editorial board and an OOSK, then either the OOSK has been manipulated or it is politically immature, and that editorial board has to explain why speeches condemned by communists have been put into a book of literary essays.

Speaking about the recent articles on "Golubnjaca," Vrhovec said that there had been very good articles in VJESNIK and VECERNJI LIST, and one shrouded and obscure article in DANAS. The question is what the ideological policy is in the VJESNIK publishing house, and whether it is ideological pluralism, Vrhovec wondered. He added, however, that the communists in the house were wrong if they thought that someone on the outside would resolve that for them. Also, the recent television broadcast "An Eye on the Cinema," which mentioned "Golubnjaca," was misused in order to manipulate the public in a biased manner, Vrhovec commented, but if Yugoslav television had already presented this, then at least the Zagreb television should make a statement that this is not its position. Speaking of the substantial difference between the novel and the dramatized version of "Golubnjaca," Vrhovec, among other things, said that it was not a mistake that the novel had received the "Seven Secretaries of the SKOJ" award, but that the question now was how such a nationalistic dramatic text could appear at all from such a novel. It is a false dilemma whether this is a political text or not, since it is a distortion of the nature of the revolution in Croatia. Who has the right to say, Vrhovec asked, that you are all fools, and this is the true picture of the revolution? It is from this viewpoint that one should view the award to "Golubnjaca" in Nova Gorica, and not from the esthetic viewpoint.

#### Joint Action by Communists

Referring to the interview with A. Isakovic published in the latest issue of the magazine DUGA, J. Vrhovec singled out several absolutely unacceptable positions of that writer, such as the one that in Yugoslavia there is no real community because we adopted a new Constitution. Vrhovec emphasized that he was still of the opinion that with the new Constitution we have created and completed a solid basis for our real community. Another instance is when he asserts that it was seen immediately that the somewhat strange "Declaration on Language" of 1967 would catch on, and the assertion that the "Proposal for Consideration" was correct, while it is well known that the LC condemned both; the question is then what DUGA's editorial policy is like. And what is meant by the praise of the writer "Croatian Faust," for being the first in Croatia to write about nationalism, as if

many writers in that republic had not written about that evil both during and after the war? This praise would really be an insult to all writers in Croatia if it were not stated by someone burdened with his own nationalism, Vrhovec said.

In the public information media, Vrhovec finally said, we have a great "lather" that overflows, and that will become somewhat more dangerous if we do not succeed in uncovering it. Only through joint action by communists, through increased confidence among communists, and thus by determined joint action along the LC's line, will it be possible for us to resolve these problems easily; if we leave this for tomorrow, things will go badly, and if we leave it for the day after tomorrow, things will go very badly.

9909

CSO; 2800/146

MEDIA ROLE IN SELF-MANAGING SOCIETY VIEWED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15-18 Feb 83

[Article in four installments by Marko Lolic: "The Information System: Capabilities, Shortcomings and Prospects"]

[15 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] Information as a Precondition of Decisionmaking

There are many sound reasons for our increasingly frequent discussions of the information system, of its capabilities and experiences, of its shortcomings and errors, and of the most desirable prospects for future development. There is nothing ad hoc in this, although sometimes events of the moment furnish an occasion for these debates, since that activity is not exclusive, nor can it be separated from the entirety of the relations which we are developing. It is truly important, then, that public figures and scientists, certainly the newsmen themselves first and foremost, and also the most general public reflect on this topic in a thorough and comprehensive way, on all its characteristics, its orientation and experience, and especially on the ways in which the information function is to be further socialized in the system of socialist self-management.

Objectively: When the theory and practice of performing the information function are enriched, this broadens the treasury of our total knowledge, our viewpoints and possibilities for development, and the breadth of the relations and prospects for socialist self-management. Here again, certainly, one should always take as his point of departure the interests and relations of associated labor and its "sovereignty" in the totality of socioeconomic and political relations.

Resistance and Shortcomings

There are at least two other reasons that particularly accentuate the importance of deliberating and discussing this topic today.

The first certainly lies in the fact that we have defined the public and social information function (and have been striving to establish and develop them in this way more and more in practice as well) as an integral, independent and responsible part of the political system of socialist self-management

democracy, so that the particular way in which it develops, the quality of its performance and the pattern of its organization have a very great impact on the overall functioning of the system conceived in that way. Information is one of the preconditions of competent decisionmaking and democratic deliberation of problems, events and relations, and of finding the most optimum solutions to them. The information function is a function of self-management, and that is its most important task.

Another reason for the more frequent discussions of our press, radio and television and of all the other entities in the information system should be recognized in the altogether specific circumstances and conditions of the time in which we live. It is often described as complicated and burdened with difficulties. Those difficulties are above all economic, but they also powerfully reflect other conditions and dilemmas. In its historical development socialist self-management has achieved many results, but it has also come up against barricades of resistance. All the monopolies have not been broken up, nor in practice has associated labor sufficiently become that principal force which is driving development and which is having a decisive impact on all public decisions and public affairs. The regionalization of the surplus value of labor coincides with exclusiveness of all kinds.

Nor, of course, are we immune to all sorts of "subjective shortcomings" and imperfections, so that it is natural to pose more harshly than before questions of responsibility, for strict respect for the law and norms of social ethics to be demanded. On the other hand, in situations that have many levels and are highly complicated the slogans of nationalism seem to be quietly, and sometimes even quite insolently, to be renewing their advances, which firmly convinces us that all their standards have not yet been altogether cast into the "lumber room of the past." What is more, there has been enough gossip and "name-calling," enough petit bourgeois grumbling about "rights and freedoms," and also enough dogmatic complaints to the effect that all this would have been straightened out more quickly if direct methods had been used and if the conflicts had been driven out of our contradictory reality by edict. Certain newspapers have also taken a zealous part in all this.

#### The Broadest Mobilization

We are determined to confront the difficulties we have openly and promptly and to overcome them with still greater reliance on our own resources, which by no means should be taken as an appeal for any sort of isolation and a standstill in the dynamics of development. On the contrary, our own forces are much broader and stronger than it might sometimes appear at first glance. Certainly we have good reason to insist on higher productivity, more up-to-date production, larger exports and prompt repayment of debts, but equally on better supply, on linkage and pooling of labor and capital, and all of this within relations of socialist self-management, which are for us the only sound and historically tested alternative. This is not a system only for "peaceful times," but the most reliable road and foundation for us to develop our socialist community democratically and responsibly, in concert and consistently, and in relations of brotherhood and unity and full equality, following those guidelines which we set down with Tito.



We are now carrying out the broadest mobilization in society directed toward those tasks (which are long-range in nature, but do not allow for postponement to some "far-off time") so that everyone will understand and take up his part of the obligations and responsibility. It is natural and equally inevitable that that kind of mobilization and increased effort also be expected and demanded in full from our information system. This is probably also one of the reasons why recently there has been more frequent discussion in various places about the situation on this powerful front and about its lasting and current tasks and obligations. Even though the focus often falls primarily on critical objections to certain shortcomings and oversights, a point of support for new achievements can also be sought in the valuable experience and great contribution which our press, radio and television have been making to the battles for stabilization, in the recent past particularly.

[16 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] More Self-Criticism and Responsibility

In the debates we are conducting it is a good thing to dispel the fogs which roll in, to be clear in one's orientation both in practice and also in assessment of its real results and possible derivatives, but there are times when such discussions, indeed even justified and specific critical admonitions also have other and different repercussions.

There has been a hue and cry here, and indeed even abroad, to the effect that supposedly what is involved is a conflict between the party and newsmen (yet more than 80 percent of them are members of that party!), that an attempt is being made to "bureaucratically halt" the democratic process which has built up and to put an end to its critical intonation, that someone in our country, it seems, has virtually frightened the press and wants to stifle it and take command over it, and so on.

Neither "Force" Nor "Servant"

Now that we are speaking about the overall view and behavior of the League of Communists and the organized self-managing society as a whole toward the press and its role, there is no cause to be so virulent. These are actually insinuations. Actually our situation is different. The fact that public speech has been highly democratized, that dialogue is spreading into new areas and that the press is playing an ever more significant role in the overall sociopolitical system and is itself increasingly diverse and of better quality, is not the result of any "taking away" of freedoms, but of a broad endeavor and unceasing revolutionary initiative of the League of Communists and of the front of socialist forces as a whole to steadily broaden the limits of human freedom, to bolster the processes of democratic decisionmaking in self-management and to insist ever more consistently on public scrutiny and responsibility in the performance of all and of everyone. That is why it is the goal both of the current discussions of the press and indeed of specific oversights and responsibilities that it undergo further progress and development, but not as a "force" outside and above society, nor as a "servant," but as an important and responsible factor in public opinion, in discussion and in decisionmaking.

Some people on the other hand seem to be putting questions of the "legitimacy" of party discussion of these issues. Perhaps that very fact speaks volumes about their ideological prejudices or intentions. As far as we are concerned, matters are clear: If the League of Communists is the leading force of society (and if that attribute was not handed to it, it was won through the revolution and has been unceasingly confirmed) and if it bears historic responsibility for development of the entire community, then there is no basis for the field of information to be shut off from it as a "preserve." If on the other hand it is a question of someone being bothered because at times warnings are issued from high levels of the party concerning oversights and crooked "lines" in particular editorial offices, the explanation is also easy: If the editorial mechanisms themselves worked better, if the party members and other staff members there performed their complicated duties more consistently, there would be ever fewer needs for such "interventions." The current discussions in the OOSK [basic organizations of the League of Communists] in the media should contribute precisely to a strengthening of self-criticism and responsibility there, instead of local defensiveness, sensitivity and a rotten solidarity.

#### A Powerful Weapon

That is why again today, as we discuss these matters in various places, we should bear in mind our fundamental commitments in the development of society and relate them to the information functions, commitments which have already proven their value and indisputable progressiveness in practice. But all this needs to be developed and perfected in reflections and also in specific deeds if we are not to stand in one place, and thereafter lag behind and go backward.

Our media are an inseparable part of the subjective socialist forces, and they are important and indispensable in their contribution to the overall functioning of our system. They should be a powerful weapon in the hands of the citizenry, the working people and the working class and for its immediate and historic interests, they should be visibly employed in interpreting and overcoming social contradictions, and they should display a socialist commitment to those goals and relations in society which place the workingman as producer and self-manager at the center of all social processes. In short: They should be an alert driving force behind his social action, consciousness and interests, should constantly strive to arm the public with the truth, but they should also resolutely oppose attempts by someone to try to spread all sorts of untruths on his own under the motto of a fight for the "truth." It is that basic line of integration into the socialist self-management front that should be emphasized still more in the everyday performance of our media.

[17 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] Against a Controlled Press

We are clearly opposed to a controlled press. But this does not mean that we advocate an information system that would be outside and free of all social and socialist responsibility. Even as we wage war against various stupidities

and meanderings, this is objectively an endeavor that is in the profound interest of the humanistic, self-managing and democratic function of the press.

Greater freedom of the press signifies and also presupposes its greater responsibility. Newspapers and newsmen, that is, are not merely a mirror of social events, a mere neutral copy of actuality! They are creators and builders of the society of associated labor, active participants in that society, so that like others they should bear responsibility for their actions and omissions. It is not a question, then, nor can it be, of a return to some kind of censorship (though one might encounter some bureaucrat who longs for this), but it can and must be a question of a much more radical and consistent reorientation of that sphere toward the basic forces and strata of producers, toward the interests, needs, views and activities of the associated workers, of the working people and citizens, and of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

#### A Bold Reassessment

The dissemination of information and frank commentary on problems, facts, occurrences and relations are making a valuable contribution (and will continue to do so in the future) to the further democratization of society, to discussion, to public access to information and to responsibility. The information function is thereby contributing fruitfully to socialist social development, and in most cases that impact should be looked on favorably. At the same time the conscious battle for the dignity, social role and reputation of newspapers and journalism, encouragement of their creative work and acknowledgement of the messages which they are "emitting" and of the public opinion which they are creating are always a sign of the readiness and ability of the organized forces of society to realistically and critically assess what has been accomplished, to reexamine it boldly, and without errors or fear to broaden the front of workers with a socialist commitment in all segments of society in a further revolutionary advance.

The information function is certainly a powerful instrument for politicizing people and the social public as a whole. But as we say this and honor it, we are at the same time determined that the media shall not be an arena for competition among various oppositionist ideas and the conservative outlook, nor a medium for exciting the masses and for general contentiousness. In the car of blind accident and arrogant destruction one can easily wander onto the hazardous roads of the trail of the declared and very responsible constitutional and social role of the media in the original community of self-management, which is at the same time a multinational and complex community. Given these historical relations and conditions, to fail to serve the ideals of brotherhood, of labor and of socialist self-management realistically signifies in our context being retrograde and reactionary.

There should be an acute awareness of this in the activity of our media and in their political, moral and cultural function.

## Complete Freedom of Information

The main problems preoccupations and goals of society are also the basic tasks and content of information activity, if we are not to stand unjustifiably aloof from all that. It is always important to detect that revolutionary framework and to act with passion and commitment within it. This is also the most reliable way in which newsmen can authentically operate as independent and responsible public figures rather than for individuals--this has been detectable as phenomenon and sometimes even as a trend--to "become independent" as some sort of "sharpshooters" and to represent themselves as the sole "faultfree force" in society, as its disinterested observers or rebellious critics.

Advocacy of complete freedom of information, of the truthfulness of information and the unrestricted flow of information over the entire territory of Yugoslavia must be the endeavor, the duty and the responsibility of all participants in the information process from "sources" through the newsmen to the broadest public. Concealing the truth and embellishing reality cause inevitable and general harm. This was indeed demonstrated by the events in Kosovo. Disinformation spoils the situation in society and distorts the picture of it. That is why we must be still more determined in working for public scrutiny and open proceedings in the operation of all the institutions of our system, in which the sources of information have multiplied greatly. And the newsmen themselves should turn still more toward associated labor and self-management, toward what is called the base of society, instead of the frequent habit of seeking information predominantly from forums.

[18 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] Neither Blanket Criticism Nor Wholesale Defense

We rightly say: All the fault does not lie with the press; it is not likely that everything is just fine with us except that our newspapers are no good. That cannot be the truth. Incidentally, even when we say that the press is not merely a mirror, we are not thereby denying the fact that it does necessarily reflect the situation in society and indeed even within the League of Communists, in politics and science, in production and in public activities.

It inevitably expresses and reflects both the capabilities and achievements and also the vacillations and wanderings, as much the breakthroughs in transformation toward socialist self-management as the resistance which randomly or consciously arises along the route of the revolutionary transformations.

That makes it clear that we will achieve new results in this area as in others only through the further spread of our entire socioeconomic and political system, through the strengthening of self-management, through an opening up of all sources of information, by the force of our goals and programs, and because our vision is convincing and because all the social forces and entities are consistent and responsible in their work and behavior.

In these endeavors the press may not be an observer at a distance, but must be a fellow fighter in the first ranks, who has an eye to the future, who strives to interpret the present, but also to forecast the future. That is why the necessary criticism of shortcomings and certain types of behavior in society cannot be delivered from the positions of the past.

That criticism must originate in the orientation of worker self-management, must be active on the right side of the class barricade, as a function of the organized working class which is to master and to control this activity as indeed society as a whole.

An especially important problem in all this is the question of socializing the entire sphere of information. It is essential to emphasize that socialization is not an assault on freedom and independence, it is not a way of holding the "reins," nor any sort of restrictive external factor. On the contrary, this is a way of integrating that sphere into the entirety of self-management and delegate relations. Socialization must be equally and simultaneously a barrier to anyone's monopoly and to pressure from outside, to the giving of orders and getting on the telephone, but equally and at the same time to privatization and group-ownership tendencies and types of behavior within the actual editorial offices of the media both with respect to editorial policy and also in the sense of material condition and self-management.

The media are in any case resources of particular public interest. That is why the socialization of the information function and all its forms should express in the most suitable way precisely the social character of the information function and the information media as well as the editorial policy conceived and conducted in them. This is also the most suitable way of overcoming the "buddy-buddy" relationship and behavior of certain of the media.

#### To Interpret and To Overcome

The League of Communists should constantly make a critical assessment of life and practice and indeed also of itself, should be the pacesetter in this and should thus encourage constructive changes and progress across the board in society. We need that kind of criticism. Instead of spontaneity and disorientation, we need further elaboration of our views and commitments, an effort to state them in more profound and revolutionary terms. Especially since in some of our media theses and slogans have emerged which dispute the revolutionary sources of our society and its democratic character and deny the capability and legitimacy of the League of Communists to confirm itself even today as a revolutionary and integrative force. Some people, that is, place the League of Communists and socialism in the defendant's box. These are pressures and intrigues originating with a minority, with a small number of authors and their "sponsors," but all of this is not so harmless that we can simply brush it off. It takes only one nationalistic sentence, or indeed even that kind of overtone or disguised message to evoke an exceedingly fierce and sharp reaction. When it comes to nationalism, false liberalism and dogmatism there can be no relaxation nor permissiveness.

There are no reasons in all of this for any blanket criticism of the press. There is no basis for blanket criticism, but neither is there the basis for a wholesale defense, though this has occurred. Occurrences and things in life emerge in specific relations and manifestations and should thus be interpreted and overcome as such, altogether concretely and in straightforward terms of political ideology. Let everyone's progressiveness be measured against the fundamental values, character and goals of our society. That is why we need to reemphasize that this is not a time for "calling the roll" of newspapers and newsmen, but it certainly is a time for calling up the newsmen and newspapers in this stormy period to make their new contribution to the battles for socialism and self-management, for the further liberation of labor and man.

All this means, of course, that there should be still more, much more, contracts and cooperation with the press, still more joint deliberation, exploration and work, and less suspicion and division (into "we" and "you"), so that by our common and augmented forces we can make a further contribution to the progress of our community and to every aspect of self-management and public activity, to the steady spread of socialist consciousness and action.

7045

CSO: 2800/160

## DELAYS IN PUBLICATION OF ENCYCLOPEDIA VOLUMES EXAMINED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1670, 2 Jan 83  
pp 34-36

[Article by Milos Misovic: "Casting Off Illusions"]

[Text] The occasion for once again taking up encyclopedia topics was not the usual "drawing up of accounts" at the end of the year, but of balancing of another kind. Soon, probably in mid-January, the second volume of the new edition of "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije" [Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia] will be published. In accordance with the project adopted in 1976 and the social compact of representatives of the Federation and the republics and provinces adopted in early 1980, an entire series in the extensive program of "Jugoslavika" was supposed to be published by the end of the year. However, so far only two volumes of the edition in the Latin script have been completed, and work is still under way on several other books.

Since Dr Ivo Cecic, deputy editor in chief of the encyclopedia, has headed this extensive project since the very outset, we asked him to explain why the tardiness occurred and what would be its consequences.

A reader who has carefully followed the recent polemics of encyclopedia topics will easily understand why in this interview we did not start with the project itself. We were interested in whether the experience with the first edition of "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije," which took 22 years to prepare, had been sufficient for drawing up the program of a second edition which would appropriately reflect our needs and realistically portray the common past and present of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. We wanted to learn, that is, what had been decisive in compiling the ambitious program of 68 encyclopedia volumes: 6 editions of 11 volumes each in the languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and 2 volumes of a separate edition in English.

Dr Cecic says that this program took a long time to prepare, that during 1974 and 1975 many consultations were conducted in federal, republic and provincial institutions and that the program was finally adopted in early 1976. The central board of editors was created at that time, and work began to prepare the alphabetical list of topics.

"According to the original conception," Dr Cecic explains, "there were to be four editions: Croato-Serbian (Latin), Serbo-Croatian (Cyrillic), Slovenian and Macedonian. However, there later ensued demands that the program also include editions in the Albanian and Hungarian languages."

The first difficulties in preparation of the second edition arose even in compiling the alphabetical list of topics. In the first discussions conducted in this connection agreement had to be reached in the republics and provinces on everything that was to be included in the new edition and what was to be omitted from the previous one on the basis of a single criterion. This job, Dr Cecic stresses, lasted continuously until 1979, and only thereafter was it possible to undertake preparation of the first articles. Yet, although it took 3 years to prepare the alphabetical list of topics, it turned out in practice that it was not complete. The central board of editors has so far held 48 meetings, some 30 of them since 1974, and the alphabetical list of topics has been changed and added to at every one of them.

#### What Are the Limits of Disproportionate Desires

We asked the deputy editor in chief of the encyclopedia what was imposing such frequent changes and expansion of the program for the second edition. Were there desires behind this to "cram" into the encyclopedia even things which in their value and importance do not deserve to be in it?

Emphasizing that these demands have been imposed by necessity, but that often they are also an expression of a gap in assessments of real needs and possibilities, Dr Cecic admitted that the approach is too broad in these proposals. The steady increase of the number of alphabetical units and the number of lines presents the danger of considerably expanding the program of the second edition and postponing the time when the encyclopedia will be published.

When the preparations concerning the program of the second edition were completed and the social compact, which also regulated the question of funding the program of the encyclopedia, was signed in early 1980, the first volume appeared relatively quickly. We were interested in why there had been a lag in bringing out the second and succeeding volumes.

The first volume came out at the end of 1980. Its publication coincided with the 30th anniversary of the publishing house. The work on the second volume took 2 years, although the program scheduled an average of 1 year for preparing each volume of the edition in the Latin script. There were several reasons for the tardiness. One of them was that an encyclopedia conceived in this way is a unique encyclopedia undertaking not only in our country, but indeed in the world. No one has experience in preparing such encyclopedias, and the first steps taken in this regard required time in order to gain a certain confidence and experience.

#### At the End of Painful Discussions

"The second significant reason lies in the fact that after appearance of the first volume those unfortunate events took place in Kosovo. The public



polemics and criticism aimed at certain articles in the first volume understandably had an essential impact on the pace of work on the second volume and especially on the pace of work being done on the first volumes of the editions in the languages of the nationalities and minorities. This lengthened the work on those editions by several months at the least. The discussions of those questions, as you know, were painful and difficult and had an essential impact on preparation of new articles. But fortunately the work on those articles was successfully completed recently, and valuable experience has also been gained."

Dr Cecic feels that the fact that several very complex reviews were included in the second volume also had a bearing on the lag in preparing it. It included, for example, the article on Josip Broz Tito, a long survey of his life and work, which, Cecic says, will also probably be published separately in the languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. The preparation of that article took quite a bit of time, attention and responsibility.

The second volume also included an extensive monographic survey of SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the first article of this kind included in the second edition of the encyclopedia. Rather lengthy work was also done on it, and a large number of specialists were involved. "Since this is the first republic included in the encyclopedia on the basis of alphabetical order, an endeavor was made," Dr Cecic stressed, "to make this survey a true presentation prepared in due proportion to its subject matter both with respect to the assessments and also with respect to space. This article, which takes up about 300 pages of the encyclopedia and includes about 300 illustrations and maps, will serve as a kind of model of the treatment to be given the other republics."

Along with all that the program of the second volume also included SR Montenegro and the topic "Montenegrins." The articles on those topics also aroused certain polemics, which in turn tended to put work on the encyclopedia behind the schedule set forth in the program. In the opinion of the subject of our interview problems like this will not arise, at least not in such aggravated form, in preparing the succeeding volumes, on which a goodly portion of the work has been completed. The first volumes of the Cyrillic edition and the volumes in Slovenian and Macedonian will soon be published, we were told by Dr Cecic.

Without underestimating the optimistic assurance of Dr Cecic, we asked how similar situations could be avoided in future work? That is, has the experience from the recent discussions helped all parties and all participants in this task to realize that personal wishes and special interests must be subordinated to the scientific truth and need for objective representation in the encyclopedia even of those events on which views are not unanimous?

#### Troubles With Nonencyclopedia Topics

The deputy editor in chief of the encyclopedia feels that the occasions for unpleasant debates occurred above all because of topics which are not primarily of encyclopedic nature. "These are topics in our reality which have

existed for years, for decades, and in some cases even for centuries," Dr Cecic says. "Some of them our society and our science have still not overcome. The encyclopedia is being prepared in that social climate, and it is clear that the people doing this job confront very complicated problems."

The question of the willingness and personal disposition of individuals, in Cecic's opinion, is less of a problem. "It is much more significant that there are differing opinions and differing sources of data and documents on individual matters, so that differing judgments are also framed on the basis of that situation. I would not be able to assert that there will not be any such problems in the future, but I think that in the work on these two volumes, especially in the most recent discussions, we have overcome in a methodological sense many obstacles to finding the right solutions. I am not referring here to compromises that would neglect the facts. If there are dilemmas about a topic, if there are differing assessments, we are not in a position where we can say: this is right. If through debate and with the help of reviewers and extensive scientific consultations we cannot arrive at the right solution, then we say that there are differing scientific interpretations of this problem, enabling the reader to realize that this is the case because science has not yet said its final word on this issue. The encyclopedia dare not commit itself to one view if there are no scientific arguments for that kind of commitment."

#### The Method of Broad Consultations

We were interested in whether the central board of editors had also applied that principle in adopting the articles "Albanians" and "Albanian-Yugoslav Relations."

"We have chosen to take that approach wherever such dilemmas arise. And we also did this in certain passages in the articles 'Albanians' and 'Albanian-Yugoslav Relations.' However, I would like to emphasize in this connection that in seeking the right solutions for those articles we perfected the system of consultations with distinguished men of science. We held six or seven consultations on this question with specialists in that region from all over the country, even though some of them were not even authors of articles nor reviewers. And this proved to be the right way. I would take this occasion to thank those people for their readiness to help us in finding the right solutions, without arrogance, insults or humiliation."

Proceeding from the fact that a great deal of dissatisfaction had been expressed with the first version of the articles on the Albanians in Yugoslavia, while on the other hand there was quite a bit of resistance to changing them essentially, we asked whether they were all satisfied with the solution found after everything had been said concerning those articles and everything had been done in connection with them?

Cecic phrased his response in an interesting way. He said that "the opinion was unanimous on all essential issues." Emphasizing the phrase "essential issues," he thereby emphasized the commitment of the central board of editors to have the articles on individual nationalities and minorities written primarily

by specialists from those communities. However, he also emphasized, and experience has borne this out, that these have not always been those persons in Yugoslavia most familiar with the subject matter.

#### Were There Pressures

"In cases when we had better experts outside that nationality or minority," Dr Cecic explained, "we asked them to serve as reviewers of those articles. In that way we were able to enlist the most eminent experts in Yugoslavia to give their judgment of those articles. When we conducted consultations of this kind concerning the articles entitled 'Albanians' and 'Albanian-Yugoslav Relations,' we came to the conclusion that they had reached the point where they could be adopted unanimously."

Nor did the subject of our interview hesitate to answer the question of whether the central board of editors had succeeded in that painful process of reconciling differing views to resist political pressures for some particular phrasing to be included in the encyclopedia.

Mentioning that in this respect there were various disagreements and even erroneous interpretations of certain of his statements, Dr Cecic said that "generally speaking the policy of this country affords full support to people working on the encyclopedia. That support has been evident everywhere, since no one has ever called this program into question. However, there were occasionally isolated political interventions, but I am able to say at this point that they have been entirely eliminated. First, because it became evident that they would not help, and second, because we offered vigorous resistance to these efforts, adopting the course of resolving all issues in the only way that is possible for carrying out this kind of complicated job of scholarship."

We also wanted to hear how the complicated process of consultation and reconciliation had affected the financial aspect of the project. Dr Cecic was not prepared, however, to speak in any detail about this, since the financial aspect will soon be discussed by the Council of the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia. But he did not conceal that serious problems had indeed arisen in this sphere, problems which are manifested in enlargement of the size of the program, extension of the time of preparation and the increased amount of funds needed.

"The circumstances I have spoken about and which cannot be neglected," added Dr Cecic, "have had the effect of these issues being discussed quite soon, first in the self-management bodies of the publishing house and then in the Council of the Encyclopedia as well."

#### The Encyclopedic Roads of Integration

The subject of our interview was not in a position at this moment to say when publication of the last volume of this extensive project could be anticipated, but he felt that the date originally set, which is the end of this decade, will not be shifted very much, since the first and inevitable difficulties have to a large degree been overcome.

We reminded him that in one conversation 1.5 years ago he said that the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia should in fact figure as an integrative factor of Yugoslav society. In the work of carrying out the encyclopedia project so far, however, desires and tendencies have often been expressed to have everything divided up, separated, delimited. How does he explain this?

"Here again we encounter topics and dilemmas which are not predominantly encyclopedic," Dr Cecic says. "Certainly various myths cannot be abandoned so quickly and certain dramas from mutual relations which have filled the past of our peoples forgotten so quickly. But I can say that the discussions we have had in various meetings, in the recent past particularly, have had the effect, I am profoundly convinced, that we are beginning to instill in 'Enciklopedija Jugoslavije' far more mutual understanding, responsibility and tolerance. And I see this as still another confirmation that the encyclopedia will really be a constitutive factor of our culture and an integrative factor of our community."

The man who has headed this program for 9 years is convinced that many things have changed in the work on the encyclopedia. In his opinion, the key participants in carrying out this program have become convinced that the elements which divide us should not be emphasized, but what binds us together and what we have in common should be taken as the primary thing. This, Cecic says, will be a large contribution to solving other issues of our community as well. He even considers this one of the exceptional tasks of "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije."

We concluded by reminding Dr Cecic of a kind of anomaly. It is a year now since the death of Miroslav Krleza, director of the Yugoslav Bureau of Lexicography and editor in chief of "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije," and yet no one has been chosen director of the bureau nor editor in chief of the encyclopedia.

Krleza's long-time deputy in these posts says that this is another issue that will soon be resolved, probably by separating those positions, as has been proposed by the organs of the bureau in the spirit of the bylaws.

"The work to be done on the two 'fronts' has become so ramified that as a practical matter they cannot be handled by a single individual," Cecic adds.

The central board of editors of "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije" and the man who heads it are probably not even themselves satisfied with the quantitative result over the past year. But both they and many others can be satisfied if that was a year when various illusions were shattered, among others the illusion that the "Jugoslavika" could be created as the sum total of heterogeneous desires. We will all be still better satisfied if in the year to come, a year that will be a record year according to Dr Cecic, the opinion prevails that there must also be a limit on the time given to carrying out this program.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

AGAINST BANNING--Banning [literary works] in itself is a sign of theoretical weakness, lack of trust in criticism, greater love for the argument of force than the force of argument. Banning, whether it intends this or not, feeds the spirit of bureaucratic omniscience and omnipotence, while limiting the area for freedom of creative work and opinion. Rosa Luxemburg said, "Freedom is always only the freedom of he who thinks differently." Banning excludes freedom to think differently. The rhetoric of labeling and of political discrediting is moving more and more violently. How is one to carry on a dialog now about freedom of creative work and democratization of cultural life? Censorship does not achieve that which it wants nor does it want what it achieves," wrote Marx. Banning also does not achieve what it deserves, nor, I hope, desires what it achieves. Banning feeds...the spirit of suspicion and doubt and strengthens blatant politicalization of everything..." (Slavko Gordic, literary critic, at the meeting of the Novi Sad city LC Committee on Ideology and Politics in Culture) [Text] [Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 83 p 7].

SLOVENIAN NATIONALISM--Jak Koprivc, member of the presidium of the Slovenian LC CC said at a recent discussion with young journalists in preparation for the coming LCY CC meeting on information, that some are already proclaiming the differences in views regarding the Olympic games as anti-self management and fascist action, although one must not forget that in certain cases it is a question of enemy games.... The LC members in DELO have self-critically examined the problematic and inadequately committed article about different inter-nationality and cultural relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina which was published in the Saturday supplement of this paper at the end of last year. Also damaging is the unprincipled and politically unacceptable thinking in the Maribor weekly "7d" on relations between the developed and undeveloped. The latest banning of TRIBUNA is a clear warning to the editors and not only the editors--here a lack of concern and a formalist relation to the information media, irresponsibility, and passive social editorial bodies prevail. It is necessary to redirect the present discussions about TRIBUNA from peripheral questions to....a comprehensive analysis of its action up to now so that this publication will carry out its role as a committed and critical student paper. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 83 p 2]

QUESTIONING NON-ALIGNMENT--[Following statements regretting the lack of written works, media reporting, and school instruction on non-aligned, the author says.] A few weeks ago in a school of self-managers in a Marxist center in South Serbia on the occasion of publication of a book on self-management, a discussion started on what and where self-management is today, what is Yugoslavia's role in it today, after Tito, and similar questions. (Readers, of course, know nothing about this, because the press has not published anything about the book or about the discussion.) During the discussion, serious, mature people asked or said many things regarding our reputation and existence. They also asked whether we are weaker after Tito, whether someone can now draw us into [one of] the blocs. Do our shortages [of goods] have some connection with this? One man said nicely, "that we are able to defend our self-management. But I am surprised that we hesitate somewhat to say that there are two truths here. Two of us, let us say, see the same thing, the same problems, and I say it is black and you say it is white! It does [should] not go this way at all." It came out, of course, that non-alignment and shortages and all these large price increases do have mutual connections. They certainly have. ...He asked whether we are not weaker after Tito. He asked this because of non-alignment and because of shortages and price increases. Then I...replied, "If shortages and price increases are too much for us, then we will again reach for credits. But debt is not good, comrade. It can be used by some to blackmail us, to weaken us." [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 83 p 24]

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